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ART. I.—*The works of Nathanael Emmons, D. D. late Pastor of the Church in Franklin, Mass., with a Memoir of his life.* Edited by Jacob Ide, D. D. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1842. Six volumes, 8vo.

EMMONISM, or Emmonsism, for the names are equally barbarous, denotes a theological system which took its name, if not its origin, in New England, during the latter half of the last century, and which may be regarded as a monstrous growth from the trunk of Calvinism; such, that if let alone, the supplanting fungus would leave at length no grace in the parent trunk. Or, if critics will allow us still further to mingle our metaphors, it is a frightful child of a comely parent, with just enough of the family likeness to make one avert the face in dread. Its great leading features are so repugnant to universal feeling, reason, and scripture, that, after having agitated for one generation the clergy of Connecticut, and vexed the souls of simple Christians, after having driven some to distraction and others to infidelity, it was in a fair way of dying a natural death, after bequeathing its least horrible but most seductive qualities to New Haven, when an attempt at revivification is made, in the shape of

a new and very beautiful edition in six volumes, with a dull biography by the Rev. Dr. Ide, and a very sprightly addendum to the same by Professor Park, of Andover. Of the latter we will say, that a more readable production we have seldom seen. The author meant it to please youthful hearers and readers, and he has succeeded. He meant to leave it uncertain on which side of the great theological question his opinion lay, and he has done so; in this being in signal contrast to old Dr. Emmons, who never went about in regard to an opinion, but let his readers know at the first dash the very worst of his dreadful creed. But the Professor's treatise is rich in matter, and could have been written by none but a man of genius, a wit, and a New Englander.

At our distance from the sphere of Dr. Emmons's great influence, we have always been filled with surprise at the awe with which his name has been mentioned, and the comic dread with which his dogmatic chair has been approached, and we opened volume after volume of the work now before us, in hopes of finding some new revelation of his doctrine, or some more thorough explanation of its great power in the past generation of Massachusetts and Connecticut ministers. But we are disappointed. There is little here that has not been printed before, and the body of the ponderous work is eked out with a species of theological and homiletical literature, such as our knowledge of books cannot pretend to match. The sermons in the first and second volumes are entirely 'occasional,' to employ a phrase familiar in the east; those in the third are about as exclusively funeral sermons; all indeed having marks of the great hand of their author, who could not have written a note to his blacksmith but in the clearest, tersest, concisest manner; but none of them bearing any great relation to his creed, and few of them demanding preservation. The excellent editor, with much naiveté, tells us that "the materials for ten volumes, as valuable as those with which these six are composed," are in his hands; we can believe it, even if for ten we should read twenty. Emmonsists, in the proper sense, would enshrine as a relic the shoe-latchet of their father; these we believe, however, to be few, feeble, and decreasing. Yet around the darkness produced by the hideous eclipse, there was a penumbra, which includes we fear a large number of those who call themselves the Calvinistic divines of New England; and who, having receiv-

ed their first views of anti-Arminian doctrine in the shape of the old fashioned 'new divinity,' have mistaken the reverse of wrong for right, and, whether for good or evil, never see the face of Calvinism but under the gorgon mask. As Calvinists, therefore, we take no pleasure in the reproduction of this system. We have already suffered by it, as one would suffer who is burnt in an exaggerated effigy. We disclaim its aids. If Arminianism is to be destroyed only by such allies, let Arminianism flourish. *What new discoveries does the Calvinistic student find in Dr. Emmons?* He finds, first, that God is the efficient cause of sin; that "God can make men act right freely, and act wrong freely;" that "he is now exercising his powerful and irresistible agency upon the heart of every one of the human race, and producing either holy or unholy exercises in it." He finds the fall of Adam cleared of all mystery, since "God wrought in Adam both to will and to do in his first transgression." He finds that man has natural power to frustrate the decrees of God. He finds, contrary to scripture and to Calvinism, that "all sin consists in the free, voluntary exercise of selfishness." He finds that "if infants die before they become moral agents, it is most rational to conclude that they are annihilated. He finds that conscience is "entirely distinct from the heart, and every other power of the mind," and, in the human body, "that conscience is seated in the *breast*." He finds that "the Spirit of God, in regeneration, produces nothing but love;" and that the order of the Christian graces is reversed, being this, Love, Repentance, Faith. He finds too that the sinner is bound to be willing to be damned; and that after all this "believers, at the time of their justification, are only partially and conditionally forgiven." Such is Emmonism. To say that it is not Calvinism, is only to say that black is not white, or that preposterous and exorbitant absurdity is not scriptural wisdom.

Believing in our souls that the tendency of the scheme called Emmonism, is evil and only evil, seeing its results in the Pelagianism of Professors Fitch and Taylor, who have whitewashed and re-erected its least hateful parts, and the desolations wrought even among good men by its exhausting, parching, attenuating influence, and especially knowing and feeling that its whole spirit and tone are diametrically opposed to the scriptures, so much as to be not so much a different scheme, as a different religion, when fairly acted

out, we do not scruple to declare our sorrow and fear in regard to the publication of these volumes. Sorrow, we say, and fear—because we will not affect a contempt for Dr. Emmons: it would be the very effrontery of ignorance to do so. His weapons are fearful weapons. He is an enemy whom no system need wish to meet. As a metaphysical writer he has, within our knowledge, no superior, if an equal, for stating exactly what he means in the shortest, clearest, plainest, strongest, and (in the sense of the mathematicians) most elegant manner. You never doubt an instant what his doctrine is. You never find him, like Dr. Taylor, complaining that he is not understood. Nay, he *is* understood, and that too well. His intrepidity in the assertion of the most startling and odious of his dogmas is perhaps the grand secret of his strength; he saves time by it; he saves the multiplied explanations and ambages of the New Haven school; he commands respect for his candour, and there is a sort of sublimity in the very impiety of his declarations, when he tears the veil away from the secret pavilion of God, tells us what Jehovah can and cannot do, and trumpets in the very sanctuary that God is the creator of every sinful thought of men and devils.

Again we fear the influence of Dr. Emmons because he is a master of subtle dialectics. No man reasons more clearly, more ingeniously, or more speciously. No man better knows how to assume the point, at the very moment when the opponent is least expecting such a turn. The countenance is so open, the mien so erect, and the manipulation so bold and unembarrassed, that you never dream of legerdemain. The ratiocination of Dr. Emmons most nearly resembles those chains of mathematical reasoning which brings out startling and even opposite conclusions; they occupy, enchain, exercise and astound the mind, but they do not convince. We doubt not, there are to this day many who think they have been made willing to be damned; they have yielded to the seeming proof, notwithstanding the never-ceasing and healthful revolt of consciousness, reason and grace. We fear the effects of an entangling in any meshes of thin-spun sophistry: the more subtle the more dangerous; the invisible net is worst. We fear the necessity which sound men will be under to unravel these specious tissues, and the metaphysical cast which must thereby be given to theological disquisition. New England has in every portion of her enlightened and happy territory groaned under the influence

of this very evil. Since the days of Edwards it has been true. Far different in our estimate is the sort of thinking there prevalent, from that which marked the era of the Reformed Divines. They too were philosophers. They too handled the scholastic scalpel. Since the days of Aristotle none have more nicely dissected, or more dexterously unfolded every web and tissue. But the *materiel* of their operations was derived from 'discourse,' using the term in its higher sense ; from exegesis, from sound authority, and from divine experience. They reasoned with holy awe. It was not from dulness that the great minds of the Dordrecht Synod failed to reach those points which Emmons laid open. They saw them. What was it which they did not see, of the tendencies of their almost unwarranted speculations ! They saw and shuddered. They looked over the brink, but they beheld an abyss and they returned. They distrusted their sounding line, when its lead sank into the depths of divinity, and ceased to read off the fathoms, when they found themselves declaring falsehood. They revered positive statements of revealed truth, as superseding all argument. Hence, when weary and astounded at the seeming issue of some of their flights, they alighted on the solid supports of revelation. Hence the abundant exegetical discussion in such writers as Calvin, Gomar, Turretine, Witsius, Zanchius, Van Maestricht, Mark and Wyttenbach ; while Emmons and the metaphysical divines treat the text of scripture as a mere impertinence ; to be cited exoterically, but to be twisted to any meaning or emptied of all.

In speaking so highly as we have done of the close reasoning of Dr. Emmons, and in thus exalting its power, we must not be understood to represent it as fair and conclusive. If it were fair and conclusive, its results would be truth ; but our complaint is, that, so far as they are peculiar, the results are false. And there is always cause to fear the ingenious statement of error. Error is always and only evil. Every assertion—the merest assertion of a false proposition is evil : hence the enormity of all falsehood. But when such assertion is accompanied by a display of reasons, neat, bright, concatenated, apparently inseparable from the premises, from one another, and from the conclusion, the danger is greatly increased. Besides the few who will be misled by the argument, there are the many who will be captivated by the show of it. The evil is all the greater, when the false-

hoods are engrafted on truth, or as in the present instance, when they borrow the name of an accredited system. How easily may the young student of theology be led into absurdity and error who comes to the study of Emmons, believing him to be only a profounder and more consistent Calvin!

No system of theological opinion has been more fully refuted than that of Dr. Emmons: and none has given more clear indications of approaching dissolution. Single positions indeed, such as that all sin is voluntary action, will continue to be a part of other and more cunning theories, but Emmonism, properly so called, has ceased to propagate itself. Its casual entrance into a theological school, even of New England, in insulated rustic students, is as strange and incongruous as the apparition of Banquo at the feast. Other forms of error possess the public mind. But nevertheless, the republication of these speculations in a new and attractive shape will awaken a temporary attention, vex the minds of inquirers, puzzle the unwary, and cause experienced polemics to take down their old armour.

The influence of the work cannot but be injurious, upon the preaching of the gospel. It has already been so in a high degree, and to a wide extent, in all those parts of America which have felt the power of New England; as what part has not? A Sermon, in the eye of Dr. Emmons, and of some before and since his day, is a composition of very marked character, but unlike any thing bearing the same name in other parts and eras of Christendom. All Dr. Emmons's works are sermons, and all his sermons are turned out of the same mould. Indeed, it might almost be said, that, through life, he was a sermonizer, and nothing else. He was not a student of the dead languages; he was not an expositor of scripture. He did not practice parochial visitation. Though he had a farm, he was no agriculturist; he was no traveller. While he was a profound thinker, he made no pretensions to erudition. For more than seventy years he patiently went on in constructing sermons. It would have been wonderful, if he had not acquired a great facility in his art. They are all alike; whatever be the subject, there is the same short and easy exordium, the same statement of the proposition, the same brevity of proof, and the same disproportionately prolix "improvement." His method of sermonizing we consider the worst of all methods. "I seldom preached textually,"

he tells us, "but chose my subject in the first place, and then chose a text adapted to it." On this method, any thing may be preached from any text. Thus, when he would show that love precedes faith, he founds his doctrine on the fragment—"But Faith which worketh by Love:" and when he would teach, that God discovers no order in calling men out of the world, his text is—"Without any order." It is reasoning, which is claimed, and with justice, as the great characteristic of these discourses; but the reasoning, even where it is not sophistical, is not scriptural. It is rationalistic; spun most ingeniously out of the author's own head, and not founded, as a general rule, on the positive teachings of revelation. When scripture is quoted, which in comparison with Calvinistic divines, Dr. Emmons seldom does, he appends the passage as a *purpureus pannus*; it is no part of the texture; as one who should say, 'if you must have a text here it is?' Just so the French preachers cite their little morsels from the Vulgate. You may leave the text out, and yet lose nothing.

The preaching of American Congregationalists of a certain age and school, may be characterized as metaphysical; that of Dr. Emmons was such in an eminent degree. In this, so far as our knowledge goes, it differs from all other preaching, since the world began. We say preaching, for metaphysical theology has flourished in the most brilliant periods of the church; but only here has the wall been broken down between the church and the schools. The Athanasian, the Augustinian, the Calvinistic theology was highly metaphysical; but the same men who demonstrated the osteology of truth on the tables of their lecture rooms, fed their flocks with the food of plain doctrine. Let any man satisfy himself by looking first at the extant discourses of Austin, Calvin, Rivet, Daillé, Charnock, Owen, the Erskines, and Saurin, and then at those of Dr. Emmons. Even in Germany, where philosophy is rampant, we are informed that a metaphysical sermon would not be tolerated. In the hands of ignorant, foolish, erroneous or mischievous men, such sermons become the stalking-horse for inane janglings and heresies: as no one acquainted with New England theology needs to be told. Yet the theology of New England is a varied structure, the parts of which are not to be confounded, and the very errors of which savour of thoughtfulness and dialectic skill. Of the fathers of the school, it is impossible to speak with-

out reverence, for of this Academy the Socrates was none other than the venerable Edwards, and those who followed him, including Dr. Emmons himself, were mighty reasoners, and pious men ; of whom, all and singular, we shall take heed not to speak in any terms but those of respect. The disciples of President Edwards, who adopted his principles and imitated his method of theologizing, were Dr. Bellamy, Dr. Samuel Hopkins, Dr. Stephen West, Dr. John Smalley, Dr. Samuel Spring, and Dr. Nathanael Emmons. As President Edwards had made great use of abstruse reasoning to remove some of the objections which were commonly made to the doctrines of Calvinism, so those theologians were encouraged to go still further in this metaphysical method of theologizing, until they brought out an entirely new system, which they considered a great improvement on old Calvinism. While these divines were agreed in rejecting several of the most offensive doctrines of the old system, they did not all proceed to the same length, in the new opinions which they adopted. Dr. Bellamy agreed with Mr. Edwards in his general views, but departed in some particulars from what had before been considered the standard of orthodoxy ; while Dr. Hopkins and Dr. West went boldly forward, step by step, until they had carried out their new opinions as a system. Dr. Hopkins took the lead, was the principal writer, and published the new divinity, in a work of considerable extent ; it therefore took his name, and was thenceforward denominated HOPKINSIANISM. Dr. Smalley seems not to have proceeded to the same length in his new opinions as Dr. West and Dr. Hopkins ; and his views were very generally adopted by the ministers of Connecticut. Dr. Emmons, as appears by his own account, received his views of this system from Dr. Smalley, under whom he studied divinity ; but being of a speculative turn, and possessed of a very acute and metaphysical mind, he was not contented to stop on the moderate ground assumed by his master, but went on to adopt and publish many opinions in advance even of Hopkins and West ; so that, although he was willing to be denominated a Hopkinsian, he had by his new and startling doctrines so modified the system of Hopkinsianism, that his followers thought proper to give his name to the peculiar opinions which he had united and advocated. Dr. Emmons may, therefore be considered as having given the finishing strokes to the fabric of the new divinity. And it

seems to have been wisely ordered for the benefit of sound theology, that the system was by him pushed forward into so many extravagant and absurd consequences, that few were found willing to follow him to the conclusions which he adopted. It can scarcely be doubted, that the progress of these new opinions had no small influence in facilitating the spread of Unitarianism, the seeds of which had already begun to take root in Boston and other places.

It seems proper now, when a new edition of Dr. Emmons's works is published, to bring under review the leading peculiarities of his system. And, in attempting this synopsis, we shall not regard the chronological order of the publication of his new doctrines, but rather aim at exhibiting them in their systematic relations; and, in doing this, we shall not confine ourselves to what in strictness may be called Emmonsism, but will notice most of the doctrines of the system of new divinity, in which it departs from the Calvinistic theory.

Having shown that the principle, that all virtue or holiness consists in benevolence, necessarily leads to the opinion, that the ultimate end of the Deity in the production of the universe of creatures, was to effect the greatest possible degree of happiness, and that what appears abstractly to be evil, was nevertheless a means of a greater degree of happiness than would otherwise have existed, it is an easy inference, that there is nothing in moral evil, thus considered, which would render it inconsistent with the holiness of God to will its existence absolutely; and not only to will that it should exist, but to bring it into existence by his own efficiency. Dr. Hopkins therefore, was, perhaps, the first who openly taught, that God was the author of sin, and in addition to the argument derived from viewing it as a necessary means to the greatest good, this subtle reasoner used a metaphysical argument, which many of his followers believed to be demonstrative: that the author of sin, in the nature of things, could not be sinful in producing it, for that would involve a contradiction, and suppose that it existed before it did exist. As Dr. Emmons maintained that God was the efficient cause of all our thoughts, of every kind, by immediate agency, so of course he believed and taught that God was the author of sin. Indeed, according to his theory, will and power are identical, and therefore for God to will the existence of sin, is the same as to produce it. And further, to support this doctrine, it was

maintained, that in men's consciousness of the evil of sin, they viewed it only as a voluntary act of their own, without any reference to its cause. To prove that God might be the author of sinful acts without destroying their moral character, Dr. Emmons argues, that as he can work in men both to will and to do good, without destroying the moral goodness of the exercises thus produced, so he can work in men to will and to do sinful acts, without destroying their sinful nature. On this argument we remark, that the question is not whether God can, by his omnipotent agency, produce sinful exercises in the mind; but whether he can do this consistently with his holiness. And again: the possibility of a thing does not prove its existence. But the conclusive answer to this argument is, that while it is admitted that God produces holy exercises in the minds of his creatures, by his special agency, they are bound to ascribe all the praise to God for his grace in thus enabling them to will and to do; and therefore, when he works in them to will and to do evil, they should lay all the blame on him; the assertion of which is blasphemy. From his own writings, and from the testimony of Professor Park, Dr. Emmons seems to have adopted the philosophy of Berkeley; or, rather the entire consequences of Berkeley's principles, as carried out by Hume; for he will admit nothing to exist in the soul, but what we are conscious of; and as no man is conscious of any thing but his exercises, that is, his thoughts and feelings, therefore we have no right to assert that there is any thing in the soul but these various exercises; in other words, that the essence of the soul is its acts. It is true, that we are not conscious of any thing but exercises, taking the word consciousness in its strictest sense, but we intuitively know that we exist, and that we have a soul which produces these acts; and we have the same intuitive certainty that there are dispositions in our minds, which give rise to acts of a certain kind. To deny these first principles precludes all reasoning; for all reasoning rests on first principles. It would be as reasonable to deny our own existence, or to deny that we have any thoughts, as to deny that there is a soul which thinks; and the absurdities which flow from such denial are numerous and palpable. According to this philosophy both personality and accountableness are cut off; for a mere succession of thoughts cannot constitute a person. As all which precede the present exercise are extinct, there can be no such bond of union

as makes personality. All accountability is also necessarily destroyed; for it would be superlatively absurd, as well as unjust, to visit upon one thought or exercise, all the guilt of every former evil thought, in producing which it could have had no agency.

This strange philosophy, it will be found, had a mighty influence on other novel doctrines propagated by Dr. Emmons. For example, the doctrine of original sin, so odious to mere rationalists, is by him utterly discarded. He not only rejects the imputation of Adam's first sin to his posterity, but repudiates innate depravity; that is, the doctrine of a sinful nature derived from our first parents. There is a sense indeed in which he admits native depravity, for one of his biographers records among his pithy but paradoxical aphorisms, 'that natural depravity is the truth, original sin the lie.' What he believed was, that all men's thoughts are naturally sinful, because God by his power makes them such: what he denied was, that men derive a sinful nature from Adam, or that their sins have any thing to do with his, as their cause. In his sermon on Original Sin, he says: "Nor can we suppose that Adam made men sinners by conveying to them a morally corrupt nature. Moral corruption is essentially different from natural corruption. The latter belongs to the body, but the former belongs to the mind. Adam undoubtedly conveyed to his posterity a corrupt body, or a body subject to wounds, bruises and putrefying sores. But such a body could not corrupt the mind, or render it morally depraved. There is no morally corrupt nature distinct from free, voluntary, sinful exercises. Adam had no such nature, and consequently could convey no such nature to his posterity. But even supposing he had a morally corrupt nature, distinct from his free, voluntary, sinful exercises, it must have belonged to his soul, and not to his body. And if it belonged to his soul, he could not convey it to his posterity, who derive their souls immediately from the fountain of being. God is the father of our spirits. The soul is not transmitted from father to son by natural generation. The soul is spiritual; and what is spiritual is indivisible, is incapable of propagation. Adam could not convey any part of his soul to his next immediate offspring, without conveying the whole. It is, therefore, as contrary to reason as to scripture, to suppose that Adam's posterity derived their souls from him. And if they did not derive their souls from him, they could not derive from him a mo-

rally corrupt nature, if he really possessed such a nature himself.”*

The above is a specimen of Dr. Emmons's mode of reasoning, which is nothing else but a string of bold, connected assertions. Such and such is the truth. Unless, however, you take his word for sufficient authority, there is no proof of any one of the assertions. This may be taken as a just sample of his manner.

The reader may observe that another radical principle in the new divinity is here taken for granted, namely, that all sin consists in positive voluntary action. Dr. Ide, biographer of Dr. Emmons, seems disposed to give him the credit of discovering this important principle. Alas! it is as old as Pelagius, of whose system it formed an essential part; nor can it ever be consistently held, without leading to Pelagianism. Upon this hypothesis, a corrupt nature is a thing impossible. The vilest criminal, who has spent a long life in sinful acts, has a nature as pure as that of Adam, when he came from the hand of his Maker. And, according to Dr. Emmons's philosophy, a sinful nature prior to acts, or behind the exercises of the mind, cannot exist, because there is no such thing in man, as nature or disposition, distinct from his acts. It is truly wonderful how ignorant all the New England writers of that age appear to have been of the theology of the standard Calvinistic writers whose names we have already cited, such as Turretine, Pictet, Van Maestricht, and Marck. The account of sin and its propagation, given by these theologians, is not only not refuted by the admirers of the new divinity, but is never alluded to. All who are acquainted with the history of theological opinion, know, that not only the Calvinistic, but the Lutheran divines, as well as the soundest of the Romanists, considered the fountain of sin as privative. They viewed the first sin, and every other sin, as originating in a defect of what the law of God requires. They held that Adam by his fall lost that original righteousness, that holy nature, in which he was created, and what is expressed in scripture by ‘the image of God.’ Now, supposing his posterity in virtue of their natural and federal union with him, to be born in a state of destitution of this image, they are born in a state morally corrupt: for the want of this original righteousness of heart is the real source of all

* Volume iv. p. 490.

the streams which from the beginning have filled the world with iniquity and misery. Humanity, deprived of this original endowment, a holy nature, must be in a state of moral corruption : if light is removed, darkness necessarily ensues ; or if health is taken away, disease is the necessary consequence. Now, according to this old and universally received opinion among the orthodox, there is no difficulty in conceiving the propagation of a corrupt nature ; because to bring souls into existence without the image of God, is to bring them into existence in a positively corrupt state. Nor need we determine any thing as to the origin of the soul ; further than that while nothing can come into being but by the creative power of God, he can nevertheless exert that power, in such a way, as to bring the posterity of Adam into existence as his offspring, both as it relates to soul and body. Upon this hypothesis, the old and common one, all that Dr. Emmons has said, is inconclusive.

All sin, Dr. Emmons further asserts, consists in selfishness. Dr. Hopkins has defended this opinion at great length ; and as far as we know, it has been held by all who have adopted his system. Yet it is hard to see whence it has been derived ; or why it has been so strenuously defended. After making all virtue to consist in disinterested benevolence, it should seem logical, inasmuch as sin is the opposite of virtue, to make it consist in malevolence. In selfishness, considered abstractedly, there is nothing of moral obliquity. Selfishness can be an evil only when a less good is preferred to a greater. When the love of God ceased to be a governing principle in man, the desire of gratifying the inferior appetites, and the desire of self-exaltation no doubt took possession of the mind. As all actual sin involves the exercise of the will, and as the will is moved by the desires which exist in the heart, all sin may in that sense be said to be selfish ; for in committing it some gratification of some appetite or desire of our own is the motive. But to make the formal nature of sin, or its essence, to consist in selfishness, is, in our opinion, superlatively absurd ; and it receives as little countenance from scripture as from sound reason. There is, as far as we recollect, but one passage, where self-love is spoken of as sinful, and it is then given merely as one specification of sin, and not as comprehending all conceivable acts of transgression. In describing the depravity of times yet future, Paul says, " Men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, disobedient to pa-

rents," &c. &c. Nor have we seen any benefit which this opinion confers even upon New Divinity; except that it gratifies an ensnaring rage for simplicity, which induces certain theologians to put a force upon the common meaning of words, in order to reduce all virtuous acts to a single principle. To us it seems evident, that there are implanted in our constitution affections, which are the very opposite of selfishness, such as the love of offspring; which though not of a moral nature abstractedly considered, require to be morally governed and directed. When the love of offspring becomes excessive, it is a sin; but it would be a solecism to say that it is a selfish affection. Yet the abettors of this opinion would, to maintain a favourite opinion, insist, that even this was a mere selfish affection, although its tendency is to self-denial, and even to the sacrifice of self.

Among the most zealous and able defenders of the new divinity in its most ultra points, may be named Judge Niles of Vermont. At length, however, he pushed his consequences so far, that running into the opposite extreme, he maintained that men, in their holiest acts, are governed only by selfish feelings; since whatever they love, is loved as agreeable to self, and whatever they choose is chosen only as most strongly recommended to our own hearts, that is to ourselves. In his old age, therefore, he wrote a pamphlet, directed principally against Dr. Emmons, in which he maintained something like the fore-mentioned opinions.

In regard to the imputation of Adam's first sin to his posterity, Dr. Emmons, and all the new divinity men, not only reject the doctrine, but speak of it in the same contemptuous manner, as did the Pelagians. In the sermon before quoted, we find the following remarks; "Guilt is a personal thing, which belongs to him alone who does a sinful action. The guilt of an action can no more be transferred from the agent to another person, than the act itself."—"It was unjust in the nature of things that the Supreme Being should transfer Adam's guilt to his posterity. And no constitution which he could make, could under such a mode of conduct be consistent with his moral rectitude."—"It is beyond the province of his benignity to transfer the guilt of an action from the proper agent to an innocent person—hence, we may conclude that the guilt of Adam's first sin was never transferred from him to his posterity, by the authority or appointment of God."

Here again, let it be well noted, we have nothing but as-

sertion. Proof is sedulously avoided. Dr. Emmons may be in part excused for what he asserts respecting the transfer of guilt, which he pronounces to be impossible, because he appears to be utterly ignorant of the sense in which the word *guilt* is used by Calvinistic writers. He seems never to have dreamt that the term has any other sense than *ill-desert*, but if he had had the least acquaintance with the standard writers of theology, he would have known, that the definite sense of the word (*reatus*), in theological writers of every school, is merely a *liableness to punishment*, which we all know is capable of being transferred from one to another, if one man is permitted to assume the place and suffer the punishment of another. This ignorance of the force of the theological term, seems to have been common among even the learned theologians in New England; for we were informed by a friend, that when a certain theological professor had published some elaborate sermons on the atonement, and when these were reviewed, and the meaning of this term explained, the learned author declared any such acceptance of the word to be new to him; and when his attention was further turned to Turretine's definition, he appeared to be filled with surprise.

Peremptory as Dr. Emmons is, in denying that guilt may be transferred, we will undertake to show that, in the true sense of the term, he himself holds what is far more objectionable. In the same discourse, (vol. iv. p. 490.) he says, "But if Adam conveyed neither sin, nor guilt, nor moral depravity to his descendants by his first transgression, how then did that act of disobedience make them sinners? The only proper and direct answer to this question is, that *God placed Adam as the public head of his posterity, and determined to treat them according to his conduct.*" Here then we have the very thing which the old Calvinists called the imputation of Adam's sin. By this they meant, that this act of Adam was so set down to the account of his posterity, that they were treated as though they had committed it. Adam sinned, and in consequence lost the favour and image of God: his posterity came into the world under the same circumstances. If this is not the transfer of guilt, it is the punishment of innocent persons to whom no guilt is imputed. And we are left to choose between the justice and reasonableness of punishing the posterity of Adam for his act, when he stood as their public head and representative, and of punishing them just as he was punished, but without regard to sin.

The Hopkinsian divines seem to think that they have gained a great advantage over the old-fashioned Calvinists, when they discard the doctrine of imputation. They commonly refer the sufferings of Adam's posterity, and their subjection to death and misery, even in infancy, to their own inherent depravity, or corruption of nature, derived from him. Dr. Emmons could not do this, because he believed in no such corruption of nature. He therefore ascribes their sufferings to the sovereign appointment of God, who made Adam their public head, and determined to treat them according to his conduct ; that is, to punish them as he punished him ; or to bless them, if he proved obedient, as he blessed him ; which is really nothing short of the imputation of his first sin. But let us see whether those who maintain that all his posterity derive a corrupt nature from him, but deny the imputation of his sin, relieve themselves from any real difficulty ; or whether they do not involve themselves in far deeper and more inextricable perplexities. Adam's sin, say they, is not imputed to them. They are punished for their own sins. But how came they into this sinful state ? It is answered, that according to the laws of nature, like begets its like, and as the parents became corrupt, they could only communicate the nature which they had, to their children. But who established these laws, according to which those who had never offended, and to whom no sin was imputed, should be brought into the world, under the greatest of all curses, a depraved nature ? To allege that this happens according to the established laws of nature, is merely to state the fact, and not to account for it. That men are born in a sinful and miserable state is evident. What we wish to know is, how this can be accounted for under the government of a just and good God. There are only two answers which can ever be given. One is, that God has, in a sovereign way, so ordered things, that this should be the result : the other is, that the first man was constituted the federal, as well as the natural head of his race, and, as their representative, acted for them ; so that as he sinned, they are treated as if this sin was their own, as indeed in a legal sense it is ; or in other words, his sin is imputed to his posterity. Which of these answers is most reasonable and satisfactory, we leave to the judgment of the impartial reader. For us, the doctrine of imputation is the only source of any light on this obscure subject.

In regard to the person of the Mediator, we find nothing

peculiar in the writings of Dr. Emmons; except that with all his brethren of the new school of theology, he denies the eternal generation of the Son of God. In other respects, he is sound on the subject of the Trinity, the personal distinctions, and the supreme divinity of the Son and the Spirit. As this opinion respecting the relation between the Father and the Son has no connexion, that we can see, with the other parts of the system of New Divinity, we pass it by with the single remark, that a fondness for new opinions in theology, and a disposition, without urgent reason, to unsettle opinions long established in the church, are dangerous, and almost sure to lead into error. There is, in fact, nothing new in theology. The word of God was as full and complete when the canon of scripture was closed, as it is now or ever will be in the present life. Some things may be better understood at one time than another, but surely they who lived in the times of the apostles, had the best opportunity of knowing the true and full meaning of divine revelation; and it cannot for a moment be supposed, that the word of God contains important doctrines never discovered until our age.

In the sermon on 'The Law of Paradise,' Dr. Emmons has published numerous errors, some of which are as dangerous in their tendency as any thing which has ever proceeded from his pen. He denies that there was any covenant entered into with Adam. He asserts that neither temporal nor spiritual death was included in the penalty; but only eternal death. He maintains, that God is not under any moral obligation to execute his threatenings; that otherwise the condition of fallen man would have admitted of no remedy; no Mediator could have been introduced. His own words touching the Law of Paradise are these: "Some suppose that it had the power of condemning not only those who actually transgressed it, but millions and millions of those who never could transgress it. They suppose that the threatening to Adam, in case of disobedience, extended not only to him, but to all his posterity, and did actually condemn them as well as him for his first transgression. This is to suppose, either that his posterity did actually eat of the forbidden fruit before they existed, or that they were condemned for a transgression which they never did nor ever could commit; each of which suppositions is absurd in the extreme, and barely to mention it is sufficient to refute it." Now this is by no means a fair

statement of the matter. The posterity of Adam are not personally condemned until they come into existence, when this sin is imputed. Or, Adam, having been constituted by God the federal head of all his posterity, violated the law given for the trial of his obedience : they were involved in the penalty incurred ; so that they are actually born under the curse of a broken covenant.

But while Dr. Emmons thus unceremoniously rejects the doctrine of the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity, he maintains a doctrine liable to all the objections which can be made to this. He holds, that God made no covenant with man, and did not give him a law the penalty of which could reach his offspring ; yet he teaches, that God formed a *constitution* (where does he find this in the Bible ?) which was totally distinct from the law given to Adam, and according to this constitution, determined that his posterity should become sinful or depraved, in consequence of his first sin. This constitution was neither expressed nor implied in the law respecting the tree of the knowledge of good and evil ; and there is no reason to suppose that Adam knew any thing more of God's constituting him the public head of his posterity, than of his providing a Saviour for them, in case of disobedience. Here, indeed, is a new scheme, erected upon the ruins of the old ; amounting to the same thing, in the end, but liable to far more weighty objections than have ever been alleged against the orthodox doctrine. The posterity of Adam have no concern whatever in his obedience or disobedience to the law given in Paradise ; but God makes a constitution, according to which they are brought into existence sinners and depraved. Adam, without knowing any thing about what depended on his conduct, is made the occasion of his posterity coming into existence in the most wretched condition conceivable. It is, forsooth, a crying injustice for men to be punished on account of the sin of their father and representative, but no injustice to be subjected to the very same evils arbitrarily, by a *constitution* of which he knew nothing, and without any sin being laid to their account. Is not this the very same thing, as if they had been created sinners ? Why treat them as Adam was treated, if they had no federal connexion with Adam ? If the new divinity can bring us no better relief from our difficulties than this, we disclaim its aids ; hoping that after this, there will be no more complaint of the injustice of punishing Adam's pos-

terity for his sin, until it can be shown that the very same punishment may be inflicted without regard to any sin.

But having already received Dr. Emmons's opinions respecting original sin, we will direct our attention to the dangerous doctrine which he defends, in regard to the threatenings of God; namely, that he is under no obligation from his veracity to execute them. He makes a wide difference between the obligation to fulfil promises, and the obligation to inflict threatened punishment. An attempt is made to prove that neither temporal nor spiritual death was any part of the penalty of the law of Paradise; but that the death mentioned in connexion with the precept was nothing less than eternal death. Now as Adam did not die a temporal or eternal death on the day in which he sinned; and as spiritual death is no part of the penalty of the law, the threatening, "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die," could not have been executed. From these assumed principles, he draws the conclusion, that God is not bound to execute his threatenings. The obvious objection to this doctrine, from the veracity of God, he fairly states, as follows: "It is said that a divine threatening always pledges the divine veracity; so that whatever death God threatened to Adam, he was obliged to inflict upon him, or violate the truth, which was morally impossible; for God cannot lie. But he did not die temporal or eternal death, the day he sinned, which proves that spiritual death was the only death threatened." To which he answers: "It must be allowed that this reasoning is just and conclusive, if God does pledge his veracity to inflict the punishment which he threatens to the transgressors of his laws. But he never does pledge his veracity to inflict the punishment threatened in any law." This falls strangely on our ear. If it is so, then his threatenings do not mean what the words import. Suppose a man were solemnly to declare that if a servant or son committed a specified offence he should certainly be expelled from his house; would there be no breach of veracity in omitting to execute his own threatening? And shall man be more regardful of his word than the God of truth? If God says positively to man, In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die, has he not spoken the word, and will he not do it? Most certainly his veracity is pledged in every word which he speaks; and in regard to this point, it matters not whether the declaration be a promise, a threatening, or a mere asser-

tion. To deny this is to deny one of the plainest principles of duty which could be stated ; yet this doctrine sets up a plea to justify God in solemnly declaring one thing, while it is his secret purpose to do the contrary. Away with such Jesuitical pretences, fitted to cast dishonour upon the veracity of our God. For if God is not bound to execute threatenings which are not conditional, how do we know that he will fulfil his promises? If he can omit to execute the one, he may neglect to fulfil the other. And if this doctrine is true, there is no certainty that God will ever execute any of his threatenings of future and eternal punishment : after all, these may be a mere *brutum fulmen*, intended to frighten man. God is very merciful, and delighteth not in the death of the sinner, and therefore at the day of judgment, instead of saying to the wicked, "Depart into everlasting fire," he may say the contrary ; and no punishment whatever may be inflicted on men or devils. This consequence did not escape the acute perception of our author, and he made an effort to obviate it. "There is," says he, "a wide difference between a divine threatening, and a divine prediction and promise. God always pledges his veracity to fulfil a promise or prediction ; but he never pledges his veracity to fulfil a bare threatening. A legal threatening is always a bare threatening, which implies neither a promise nor prediction." "There is a wide difference between his predicting, or promising to punish the wicked, and his merely threatening to punish them ; and the reason is, that in predicting, or promising to punish the wicked, he expresses his design, intention, or determination to punish them ; whereas, in his threatening, he expresses his disposition, not his design, or determination to punish." "We may hence conclude that God might have pardoned and saved Adam, notwithstanding he had threatened to punish him with eternal death for the first offence."*

A horrible doctrine ! It tends directly to cast a deep blot on one of God's glorious attributes ; and by calling in question the truth of his word, in one class of his most positive and solemn declarations, breeds distrust of all that he has ever said in regard to the final destiny of the wicked. "But let God be true and every man a liar." As to the subtle and pretended distinction between a threatening and a prediction it is without the least foundation. An absolute threatening

* Volume iv. pp. 473-4.

is nothing else than a prediction of the evil which God will bring upon sinners ; and a prediction of such evil is precisely a threatening of the same. There is no difference whatever in the things. In some cases, as in that of Nineveh, the threatening was evidently conditional : although the condition was not expressed it was implied ; for Jonah was sent to call the people to repentance ; and when they repented, of course the threatened judgment was averted.

But in regard to the threatening against Adam, there was no need to invent any such doctrine to save the divine veracity. The death threatened comprehended all sorts of evils which will ever follow in consequence of sin. It included, therefore, every kind of death to which men are subject, and under whatever circumstances, temporal, spiritual, and eternal. For as to our author's reasoning that spiritual death cannot be the punishment of sin, it has no force, and is the old, stale Pelagian objection which has been answered a thousand times, and by none better than by Augustin himself. Suppose we allow, that eternal death was the only thing meant in the threatening. It must have a beginning, and can never be inflicted wholly in any limited time. It began then when Adam was cast out of the favour of God and lost his image. When we consider what eternal death is, it cannot be separated from that spiritual death which, Dr. Emmons confesses, commenced on the day of Adam's fall. The continuance and maturity of spiritual death is eternal death. Remove this, and hell would lose more than half its horrors. The threatening, then, was literally executed. Adam did die, in the most important sense of the word. The body became corrupt, diseased, and mortal. Death that day began to operate on it. The soul died, by being separated from the love and communion of God, and by the loss of his image.

It is pretended that if God's threatenings must be executed, then there could be no salvation for fallen man, but that the penalty must be executed. The penalty is executed. God hath revealed to us a plan of substitution by which one fully qualified can bear the penalty of the law in the room of the guilty. This is the grand mystery of divine wisdom, now revealed to us in the ever blessed gospel. Christ, our mediator, has completely fulfilled the law and satisfied divine justice for all whom the Father hath given to him:

We have not time nor space to review Dr. Emmons's

theory of Conscience. It leads to the greatest absurdities, and is contrary to all just principles of mental philosophy, and to all experience. But as it is rather a subject for the metaphysician than the theologian we shall not detain the reader with any of our remarks on the subject.

Let us rather inquire into the opinions of Dr. Emmons, respecting the work of the Mediator. Here the doctrine of the Atonement, as being the central point in the Christian system, demands our special attention ; and no doctrine of scripture has been more perverted and corrupted by the New Divinity than this. Indeed, some of the views on this subject, which have been published and zealously circulated, approach so near to those of Socinus and his followers, that there is not much to choose between them. It appears from Dr. Emmons's life, prefixed to his works, that his sentiments, published in several sermons, gave no small offence ; and that some of his friends were grieved on account of the boldness of his opinions. One of them, who is represented as a man of some distinction, wrote to him : " My dear sir, I have read your sermon on the atonement, and have wept over it. Yours affectionately, A. B. C." These admonitory words were no sooner read, says Professor Park, " than the following reply was written and sent to the Post Office, ' Dear Sir, I have read your letter and laughed at it. Yours, Nathanael Emmons.' " The reverend professor describes a charm in this laconic repartee. If a sound judgment and delicate taste had guided the pen of the biographer, the coarse and flippant witticism would have been suppressed, as altogether unbecoming in such a theologian as Dr. Emmons.

The sermon on the ' Necessity of the Atonement,' the first in the fifth volume of his works, contains in the body of the discourse, a concise but just statement of the grounds of this necessity ; and what he says respecting the substitution of Christ, to suffer in the room of sinners is correct, though very inconsistent with opinions which he elsewhere expresses.

But it is in the ' improvement,' or inferences of Dr. Emmons's sermons, that we are to look for his most startling and erroneous opinions. In these, he comes on his readers by a surprise, and deduces from the preceding discourse such inferences as probably no other man would have thought of. So in this discourse there are no less than eight inferences, no one of which is, in our opinion, any inference at all from

the matter of the discourse to which they are appended. The first is, "that if the atonement was necessary entirely on God's account, that he might be just in exercising pardoning mercy to penitent sinners, then it was universal." Now from the doctrine of the body of the discourse, the very contrary would seem to be the logical inference; namely that Christ died only for those in whose room he suffered. The second inference is, "that if the atonement of Christ was necessary on God's account to satisfy his justice towards himself in exercising pardoning mercy to the guilty, then it did not satisfy justice towards sinners themselves." We have never met with a greater confusion of ideas than in this sentence. The notion of a satisfaction to justice on God's account, which is no satisfaction for the sinner, is simply preposterous. The true state of the case is this: man having transgressed the law, and incurred its penalty, lies under the curse of God, from which he cannot be released, unless an atonement be made. The thing to be effected by the atonement is the satisfaction of the laws of justice, which bind the sinner to suffer the penalty. A mediator interposes and undertakes to make the requisite atonement; that is, to satisfy the law for the sins committed. This can be done only by enduring the penalty, which otherwise must have fallen on the sinner. It is evident, therefore, that when justice is satisfied in relation to God, it must be a satisfaction to justice for the sinner. The notion of a satisfaction to justice, which has no relation to the sins which have provoked divine justice, is utterly idle. The author goes on to say, "that justice as it respects them (sinners) stands in full force against them. Nothing which Christ did or suffered, altered their characters, deserts, or obligations."—"Both the precept and the penalty of the law are founded in the nature of things; and Christ did not come to destroy these, nor could he destroy them by obedience or sufferings. The atonement which Christ has made has left sinners in the same state they were in before." Here we see the fountain from which some of our modern writers have derived their opinions. And here we have the doctrine of the New Divinity fairly brought out; throwing into confusion the whole system of the gospel, and actually subverting the scriptural doctrine of atonement.

The third inference deduced from this sermon, is even more extraordinary than either of the former. It is this: "If the atonement of Christ was necessary entirely on God's

part, that he might be just and the justifier of him that believeth, then he did not *merit* any thing at the hand of God for himself, or for mankind." What connexion this has with the doctrine of the discourse, we have not sagacity enough to discern. The opinion expressed in the so called inference, is shocking to the pious mind. It denies that there is any merit in either the obedience or sufferings of Christ. The pretext for this bold and impious opinion is, that pardon is a mere act of grace, and therefore cannot be the result of merit in any one. But may not that be graciously given to the sinner, which was dearly purchased by the Saviour? Why may not the merit of Christ be the ground of our free justification? "In whom," says the apostle, "we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins." But there is no need to argue this point. The opinion here given is abhorrent to the feelings of every Christian. Perhaps Dr. Emmons was the first who ever made an assertion like this, "that Christ did not merit any thing from the hand of God for himself, or for mankind." And again: "As Christ did not merit pardon for believers by his sufferings, so he did not merit a reward for them by his obedience."*

The other inferences are less offensive, but equally arbitrary with those considered; except the fourth, which is a mere truism, that if the atonement of Christ was necessary, it is absurd to suppose it merely expedient. The last inference, however, deserves a passing remark, viz.: "That none can come to Christ and accept pardoning mercy, on account of his atonement, *without accepting the punishment of their iniquities.*" The true import of this phrase when used by Emmonites, is, unless they are first willing to be damned. But how this can be inferred from the doctrine of the sermon, we know not.

The opinions of Dr. Emmons, on the atonement, may be further learned from his sermon, entitled 'The purchase of Christ's blood.' In volume v. p. 32, we find the following decisive remarks: "Christ did not purchase salvation for us in a literal sense. He did not pay our debt of punishment, nor our debt of obedience. Though he suffered in our stead, yet he did not suffer the punishment which we deserve, and which the law threatens to us. He never transgressed the law, and so the law could not threaten any

* Volume v. p. 25.

This is plausible reasoning to men who reject
namely all the great evangelical doctrines of the
Bible.

punishment to him. His sufferings were no punishment, and much less our punishment. His sufferings were by no means equal in degree or duration to the eternal sufferings that we deserve, and which God has threatened to inflict upon us. So that he did in no sense bear the penalty of the law which we have broken and justly deserve. But supposing he had suffered the same things, in degree and duration, that the law threatens to us, yet his sufferings could not pay the debt of punishment which we owe to divine justice. For his sufferings could not take away our desert of suffering. They cannot dissolve our obligation to suffer, nor pay our debt of suffering." "Nothing, therefore, that Christ did or suffered here on earth, can satisfy God's distributive justice, or pay the debt of suffering which we owe to him. Christ did not literally purchase, or buy, or ransom, or redeem mankind from the punishment which they deserved, and which God in his law threatened to inflict on them. His sufferings and death did not literally pay the debt to divine justice which we owe." All this is plain enough; and if it be not subversive of the scripture doctrine of atonement, then we confess that we have read the sacred volume in vain. But where are the testimonies from scripture in support of these anti-evangelical opinions? Our question is however somewhat hasty. Dr. Emmons is not in the habit of referring to scripture for the proof of his doctrines; nor frequently does he condescend to offer any reason in support of his opinions. He simply asserts that the thing is so, and can be nothing else. Of himself he used to say, that he had spent his life in making joints: it might more truly be said, he spent his life in making assertions. In no period of the church, from the days of the apostles until our time, was such a view of the atonement ever entertained, unless by such as denied the essential Godhead of our Saviour. Nor is it saying too much, to declare, that these opinions are in direct hostility with the uniform testimony of the sacred scriptures, as well as of the orthodox church in all ages. It is, indeed, another gospel. Yet multitudes, in our country, have swallowed these doctrines with avidity, not only as great improvements in theology, but as Calvinism!

But what, according to Dr. Emmons, is the atonement? What is to be understood by the purchase of Christ's blood? Let us hear the doctor's own words: "By Christ's purchasing salvation for us, or ransoming, and redeeming us, we

are to understand, *that he made a proper atonement for sin*, which rendered it consistent for God to offer salvation to all mankind, and to bestow it upon all believing, penitent, returning sinners." But what does he mean by "a proper atonement for sin?" The Redeemer did not bear the punishment of our sins. He did not satisfy Divine justice for sinners. On what account then did he suffer? Or, what possible end could his sufferings answer? An innocent person is subjected to an ignominious and inconceivably painful death, when neither law nor justice demands his death. He dies for sinners, and yet he bears no part of the punishment due to sinners; and no sin is imputed to him. Men may give what meaning they please, and sufferings under such circumstances may be called "a proper atonement for sin," but from such sufferings every proper notion of an atonement is excluded. There is nothing like an atonement in the whole transaction; nor can any satisfactory account be given of such a transaction. But this is not the place to argue this matter. We have fully discussed this point in some former articles of this work.

Having taken a brief view of our author's opinions on the atonement, we will now inquire what views he entertained on the important subject of Justification. And here we can be at no loss, for we have a sermon on this very subject; and our author never covers up his meaning, as is the custom of some, in clouds of ambiguous terms. He always comes directly to the point, and lets his reader know, without equivocation, what he would be at. We admire this candid, manly boldness; but nothing can be a sufficient excuse for the promulgation of error. And perhaps, as hinted before, Dr. Emmons's peremptory, clear, and dogmatical style of writing has had no small influence in giving a temporary currency, in certain quarters, to his most extravagant opinions.

"We are to consider," says he, "how God justifies, pardons, or forgives true believers. The Assembly of Divines say, 'justification is an act of God's free grace, wherein he pardoneth all our sins,' &c. But have we any evidence that he does or says any thing, when he justifies or pardons believers? Do they see any thing done, or hear any thing said, when they are justified? Or is there any reason to suppose that God puts forth any act, or makes any declaration, at the time of their justification? But if he does neither, we have still to inquire how, or in what manner he justifies

believers. To this question, a plain and satisfactory answer may be given. God justifies all true believers by *will*. He has formed and published his last will and testament concerning mankind, in which he pardons all true believers, and makes them heirs of salvation," &c. As the doctor called for evidence of the truth of the answer, 'What is justification?' in the Shorter Catechism, we would venture to ask him to bring forth his strong testimonies to prove that this is done merely by *will*. There is no passage of scripture where God is said to have made a last will and testament: and no intimation that when he justifies a sinner, he performs no act. The gospel propounds the doctrine of justification, and informs us in what way it is attained, but it is no where said that the gospel justifies. "It is God that justifieth," and if he justifies, he surely performs the act of justification. When a sinner believes, he passes from a state of wrath and condemnation to a state of favour. God is now reconciled to one, towards whom his displeasure was directed; is there no act of God in all this? Dr. Emmons not only departs from the old system of Calvinistic orthodoxy in numerous particulars, but he seems to take a pleasure in dissenting from these venerable standards; so that he makes a point of difference, where indeed there is none. We do not, in any case, pretend to explain how God acts. All our language respecting this incomprehensible Being is inadequate, and expresses no more than a distant approximation to the truth, which in its fulness is far above our feeble conceptions. But to take advantage of this, to raise objections to important doctrines of the gospel, savours much more of a cavilling self-sufficiency, than of a sincere love of the truth.

The next particular in which our author departs from sound doctrine on this cardinal point is, in maintaining that justification, when it does take place, is conditional; so that it is not complete until the believer has done something else. "Although believers are justified, pardoned, and accepted, as soon as they believe; yet if we look into his last will and testament, we find that their full and final pardon, or title to their eternal inheritance, is conditional." The condition of a full and final pardon is perseverance in holiness to the end. Justification will not, therefore, be complete and absolute until the believer has finished his course of obedience. This doctrine of conditional justification depends on the rejection of the imputed righteousness of Christ;

for if this were admitted, it would necessarily follow that the moment when a sinner believes, his justification before God is as complete and absolute, as it ever can be. But the New Divinity teaches that while the sufferings of Christ procure for him (not merit for him) pardon; yet the title to a reward in heaven depends on his own personal obedience, as will appear immediately. In the sermon, entitled, ‘Forgiveness for Christ’s sake,’ one head of the discourse is to show, “That forgiveness is the only favour, which God bestows on man, on Christ’s account.” The title to eternal life is not therefore given on Christ’s account, nor the gift of the Spirit for our regeneration, sanctification, support, and consolation. Christ has neither merited these rich blessings for his people, nor are they given on his account, or for his sake. Believers are therefore under far less obligation to Christ than has commonly been supposed; and they have from the commencement of Christianity been guilty of a great mistake in their prayers and thanksgivings; but they may plead in apology that they were misled by the very words of Christ himself, and by the words of the apostle Paul. For Christ’s declaration was, “Whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name he will give it you.” “Ask and ye shall receive.” And Paul says, “Whatsoever ye do in word or deed, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus, giving thanks to God and the Father by him.” These texts seem to have puzzled the doctor a little, but his ingenuity is greatest in overcoming those difficulties which depend on scripture testimonies. He says, “To ask, or do a thing in Christ’s name, very often means nothing more or less than asking or doing a thing for the honour and glory of Christ. And to ask or do any thing for the honour and glory of Christ, is entirely consistent with an asking for and obtaining forgiveness for Christ’s sake, in distinction from all other favours.” This explanation, however, seems not to have satisfied the doctor himself; for in the next paragraph he gives another: “But we readily allow that there is a propriety in asking for every favour for Christ’s sake, though God only grants forgiveness on his account. The propriety lies here. We always need forgiveness, when we ask for any favour; and to ask for any favour for Christ’s sake, is to ask for forgiveness first, and then for the favour we request.” On this reasoning we shall offer no remarks: let the Christian reader judge; but if this doctrine is true, Christ has been honoured in the church entirely too much. Who will venture on so great a blasphemy?

That the active obedience of Christ is utterly excluded from having any thing to do in a sinner's justification, is evident from what has already been said. But this point is brought up again and again ; for no doctrine is more offensive to errorists than imputed righteousness. Against this they are accustomed to direct their heaviest artillery most unsparingly, claiming meanwhile to be Calvinists, and to agree with the reformers.

The very first inference from the discourse last mentioned is : " If forgiveness be the only thing which God bestows upon man, then we may justly conclude, that his atonement did not consist in his obedience but in his sufferings." The second inference is : " If forgiveness be all that God bestows upon man through the atonement of Christ, then forgiveness is not only a part, but the whole of justification. Calvinists have found great difficulty in explaining justification to their own satisfaction, or to the satisfaction of others. The reason is, that they have endeavoured to make it appear, that justification contains something more than pardon or forgiveness. The Assembly of Divines say, that ' Justification is an act of God's free grace, wherein he pardoneth all our sins, and accepteth us as righteous in his sight, only for the righteousness of Christ imputed to us, and received by faith alone.' Agreeably to this, our Calvinistic divines generally maintain that justification consists of two parts, namely pardon of sin, and a title to eternal life. Pardon they suppose is granted on account of Christ's death or passive obedience ; and a title to eternal life is granted on account of his righteousness or active obedience. But we find no warrant in scripture for thus dividing justification into two parts, and ascribing one part to the sufferings of Christ, and the other part to his obedience." And this rejection of Christ's righteousness is intended to make way for the righteousness of the creature. For in the next inference we have the following words : " This subject shows that there is no inconsistency in maintaining that believers are justified entirely on Christ's account ; and yet that they shall be rewarded for all their virtuous actions entirely on their own account." The third inference from this discourse is as wide of the old standards of orthodoxy, as any thing which we have yet mentioned. It is this : " If all that God bestows on men for Christ's sake is forgiveness, then there is no propriety in directing sinners to go to Christ for a new heart or sanctifying grace. Christ did not die for

sinner to procure their regeneration, but to procure their pardon and justification after they are regenerated." These quotations will be abundantly sufficient to put the intelligent reader into full possession of Dr. Emmons's theory of justification.

We have dwelt long enough on the peculiar opinions of Dr. Emmons on the mediatorial work of Christ, and its consequences. It is now proper that we should take some notice of his views of the work of the Spirit in regeneration, conversion, sanctification, and perfection in holiness. Among his sermons we find one on special grace, in which one proposition which he maintains is, that God is able to make sinners willing, by an act of his power. The doctrine of this sermon is sound; but why call this exertion of divine power, 'special grace'? However much the deceitful and desperately wicked heart of man may abound in evil thoughts and malign passions, they are all, according to his monstrous theory, to be ascribed to God, who produces just as much wickedness, as will most glorify his own name, in the greatest happiness of the universe. As there is nothing in the mind but *exercise*, the soul cannot be, as Calvinistic divines have taught, passive in regeneration; but is active; for regeneration is nothing else than the exercise of love, produced by an act of divine power, that is, by the will of God that such an exercise should now exist. "When the Spirit of God renews a sinner, he instamps his own moral image on him, which consists in holiness: and we know that all holiness consists in love." In the sermon from which this is taken, he maintains two propositions: the first is, "That the Spirit of God in regeneration produces nothing but love—And secondly, that he does produce love." From this his first inference is: "If the Spirit of God produces nothing but love, then there is no ground for the distinction between regeneration, conversion, and sanctification. In regeneration he produces holy exercises, in conversion he produces holy exercises, and in sanctification he produces holy exercises."—"But systematic divines generally use them to signify very different things. They use regeneration to denote the Spirit's operation in producing a new heart or a new nature, or a new principle, which is prior to, and the foundation of all holy exercises. They use conversion to signify the Spirit's operation in producing love, repentance and faith; which are implied in embracing the gospel. And they use sanctification for the Spirit's operation

in producing all future exercises of grace. But the scripture makes no such distinction." His second inference is, that "men are no more passive in regeneration, than in conversion and sanctification."—"But if there is no new principle or nature produced in regeneration, but only love, which is activity itself—and it is universally allowed that men are active in exercising love to God or man," then are men active in regeneration. Accordingly the scripture requires men to be active in regeneration, conversion, and sanctification." And in the first inference from the sermon on the 'Duty of sinners to make a new heart,' he says, "If the making a new heart consists in the exercising of holy instead of unholy affections, then sinners are not passive in regeneration. It has been the common opinion of Calvinists, that a new heart consists in a new taste, disposition, and principle, which is prior to and the foundation of holy exercises. And this notion of a new heart has led them to suppose that sinners are entirely passive in regeneration. But if a new heart consists in new holy exercises, then sinners may be as active in regeneration as in conversion."

The next inference is, that "if sinners are free and voluntary in making them a new heart, then regeneration is not a miraculous or supernatural change." Sound theologians have not generally been in the habit of calling regeneration a 'miraculous change,' but with one consent, have denominated it a 'supernatural change;' nor should these two things have been confounded. That it is a supernatural change, that is, not produced by the mere efforts of nature without divine aid, Dr. Emmons himself every where asserts; and surely that which exceeds the powers of nature, and can only be effected by the power of God, may with propriety be called supernatural. Unless he means that, all other exercises of mind being produced by the same power, this operation stands on the same footing with every other exercise of mind, and is therefore merely natural.

In the sermon, 'On the treasures of a good heart,' we have the same views reiterated. A good heart contains good affections, good intentions, good desires, good volitions, good passions; but there is no renewed nature; for, according to the philosophy of this system, there is no nature in man—nor taste—nor principle, distinct from the active exercises of the mind. We need not dwell, therefore, any longer, on this part of the subject; the reader is in possession of the whole theory of mind, as held by Dr. Emmons and his followers. It will only be

necessary to repeat, what the reader has remarked above, that these views lead, of course, to an entirely new order in the succession of the various exercises of piety in the mind. Formerly it was believed, that first the mind must be divinely illuminated, that this new spiritual light produced faith, and faith, as Paul says, worked by love; that from these immediately flowed godly sorrow, working repentance and other graces. The earlier advocates of the New Divinity, however, denied the necessity of any illumination of the understanding, and made the heart, that is the seat of the affections and volitions, the only subject of moral qualities, whether good or evil. Regeneration, according to them, was the creation of a new heart, taste or principle, from which holy affections proceeded. But Dr. Emmons has declared both to be in error, and has given us the following, as the true order of exercises in the regenerate soul. "Love," says he, "must be before either repentance or faith." Next after love comes repentance. "True repentance naturally and almost instantaneously follows true love to God. And as repentance follows love, so faith follows both love and repentance. When the sinner loves he will repent, and when he repents, he will exercise, not merely a speculative, but a saving faith." Although the mere order of the exercises of piety does not seem to be a matter of any great importance, and our views of it must depend on the philosophy of the mind which is entertained by us; yet Dr. Emmons considers it a matter of great moment, and manifests more zeal for his own opinions, on this subject, than on most others. If time permitted, it would be easy to show the arrangement to be preposterous.

Another peculiarity in Dr. Emmons's system of holy exercises is, that every act must be called perfectly holy or perfectly sinful. The imperfection of saints, in this life, does not therefore consist in having exercises which are partly sinful and partly holy, which he maintains to be impossible, but in having their holy exercises interrupted by the occurrence of such as are sinful. Hence the Christian is perfect during the time that he experiences holy exercises, and absolute perfection would be the state of the mind, if these holy exercises were to continue. He seems to have no idea of sin consisting in defect, or in the want of a sufficient degree of love; and yet this is a thing obvious on the most superficial glance at the subject. Many are conscious that they love God, but how few are there who would venture to say that their love and gratitude is at any moment as intense as

it should be? The appeal may, on this point, be very properly made to the conscious experience of the Christian.

The only other subject which we shall mention, as belonging peculiarly to the New Divinity, and especially to that form of the system called Hopkinsianism, is, that the use of means by the unregenerate is altogether useless, and should never be enjoined or encouraged. They insist that the use of means by an unbelieving, impenitent sinner, cannot possibly be acceptable to God, or have any influence in promoting his conversion. This subject has, however, been so frequently discussed, and the scriptural principles are so obvious, that we will not protract this article with further remarks, especially as we do not find that Dr. Emmons has given it any prominence in his works. Those who wish to see the subject ably discussed, are referred to Dr. Dwight's discourses 'on the means of grace.'

It was our purpose to trace the connexion between Dr. Emmons's system, and the still newer theory which has sprung up in New England, and which, from its author, has received the denomination of Taylorism; but the prescribed limits have already been transcended, and we must abruptly conclude.

It would be a pleasing task, if space were left us, to distinguish between the man and the system; to point out the singularities of his peaceful, recluse life, and the history of his conflicts in theology; to show how private religious emotions survived, even amidst a system of opinions subversive of grace, when fairly carried out. But we cannot hope for attention to discussions so protracted. This is our reason for not giving some account of the life of Dr. Emmons, for which the sketches of Dr. Ide and Professor Park afford abundant materials. Those, however, who would be much interested in the details will probably purchase the volumes, especially if the system of opinions which they comprise should find means of awakening a new interest in its behalf among the clergy of New England. That the reprint of these works will afford occasion for many a new discourse, assertory of Emmonistic errors, we do not doubt. Be it so: those who love such views of God and Redemption are not quite extinct; their right to propagate their opinions is undoubted; and our only request is, that when they teach, they should so far reverence the memory of the great Reformer, as never to call it Calvinism.

ART. II.—*The Works of Thomas Chalmers, D. D., and L.L.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh, and Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of France.* Glasgow: William Collins. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1835—1842. Twenty-two volumes, 12mo.

IT is not to return upon our former track, that we resume the consideration of this great writer's labours; nor shall we treat of any of the subjects which occupied us in reviewing his theological publications. The fact is, the American reprint comprised only seven of the twenty-two volumes lying before us; nor is it likely that the American public will demand more, until the completion of the Commentary on the Romans. This however furnishes, of itself, a cogent reason why we should give our readers some account of our author's opinions, in regard to several important subjects, which, though treated in their relation to Great Britain, are in several of their aspects greatly interesting to America.

The three points on which an American will at once seize, in looking over these volumes, are Education, the Church Establishment, and Pauperism.

The first of the topics which awakens our lively interest in these volumes, is that of Popular Education. To this, Dr. Chalmers applies the argument of which he has for many years been the great propounder, in regard to church affairs. Briefly stated, it is this: 'It is not with the desire of knowledge, as it is with the desire of food. Generally speaking, the more ignorant a man is, the more satisfied he is to remain so. But the more hungry a man is, the less satisfied he is to remain so.' Turned in a hundred different ways, this distinction is the fulcrum of his whole system. The picture which he draws of education in Presbyterian Scotland is pleasing, and serves to explain the long acknowledged, but, to some, unaccountable intellectual superiority of that race.

"The people are not taught gratuitously; for by a small quarterly payment, they are made to share in the expense of the education of their families; but the remaining share is, by the law, devolved upon others. It consists of a salary which enables the schoolmaster to teach upon moderate terms, and of a school and school-house, with a garden, by which education is visibly obtruded upon the notice of every little vicinity. To this extent, the offer of education may be said to have been made; and it is an offer that has been met by the nearly unexcepted consent and co-operation of the Scottish peasantry."—"We now

see that the parochial establishment of schools not only provided, in part, the learning; but, what was of greater importance still, created the appetite for it in the minds of the people. Nor is this an appetite that would go suddenly into extinction, even were the establishment swept away. The people now do what they would not have done a few generations ago. Independently of the establishment, and without any aid from its provisions, but on the strength of their own payments alone, they defray the whole expenses of their children's scholarship. But it is in virtue of a taste which the establishment has created. Its endowments have thus elevated our plebeian classes, and given them this higher mental ambition."

We feel irresistibly impelled to ask attention to certain parts of this seventeenth volume, from that numerous class of persons in America, who cry out loudly against university and college endowments, invested funds for literary purposes, great libraries, ample edifices, and salaried instructors, and who act the part of demagogues by insinuating to the people, ever and anon, that these are monopolies of the aristocratical, that the poor are nowise benefited, and that learning, like trade, had better be left to take care of itself. On this subject, the author's favorite principle is made to bear. When people are at zero, he tells us, in the scale of knowledge, it is not by any native buoyancy of theirs, but by the application of a force from without, that they are elevated one degree in the scale; and when raised thus far, it is still not by any inherent buoyancy, but by an external power, that they are brought and upheld higher in the scale. It is to endowed colleges, that Dr. Chalmers refers us for this external power.

"A people, though universally accomplished by schools in elementary learning, will not lift up themselves by any inherent buoyancy of their own, to the level of that learning which should be taught in colleges. *Over the whole country there is not enough of spontaneous demand for the higher mathematics, to guarantee a sufficient maintenance for even so much as one teacher.* There is an effective demand, we are aware, for as much of the science as is popular and practical, and of which the uses are quite palpable and immediate. A man without the aid of endowments will gain a livelihood, by teaching any thing that is of obvious application either to an art or a calling which is gainful. But, for all that is arduous and sublime in mathematics, for the methods of that higher calculus, the uses of which lie far remote, or are wholly invisible to the general understanding, for those lofty devices and inventions of analysis, by which we may hope to accomplish solutions hitherto impracticable, or to unravel mysteries in nature, which have yet eluded the keenest search of philosophy,—for all these, we contend, there is no such public request as might foster the growth and the production of them to the extent that is at all desirable. The science which germinates these in sufficient abundance, can flourish only under the shade of endowments. Without this artificial encouragement, the philosophy of our land would wax feeble, and dwindle at length into evanescence; and in all the prouder and nobler walks of discovery, we must content ourselves to be outrun in glory by other nations."

"There are," adds he shortly after, "five college classes of natural philosophy in Scotland; and by a statute of apprenticeship in our church, every aspirant to the ministry must pass through one or other of these, ere he can be admitted to his theological studies. We feel quite confident in affirming, that but for this statute, with salaries to professorships, *there would not be enough of attendance from the whole land for securing a decent livelihood even to one professor of the science.* And this scarcity of pupils would be aggravated, just in proportion to the pure, lofty, and philosophic character of the course. If, for example, it were the transcendental aim of the professor, to accomplish his students for the perusal of La Place's *Mécanique Celeste*, we doubt if all Scotland together would furnish him with so many as twelve, that would listen to his demonstrations. At this rate, it is obvious, that no class could be formed, just because the proceeds of it could afford no adequate maintenance to a teacher. This arduous and recondite philosophy behoved to disappear, simply by ceasing to be transmitted from one generation to another. The record of it in unknown hieroglyphics, might still be found in our libraries; but it would have no place in the living intellect of our nation."

"When a distinguished professor of this country hazarded the assertion, that there were not twelve British mathematicians who could read La Place's great work with any tolerable facility, we fear, that, alive as the whole nation is to its honour in the field of war, or political rivalry, there are but few indeed of the nation who felt the affront of being left so immeasurably behind in the highest of all intellectual rivalry, both by France and Prussia.—Yet it is refreshing to observe in what quarter of the island it was, where the quickest sensibility was felt for the honour of British mathematics. It was in the academic bowers,—the lettered retreats of Cambridge. *There*, the somewhat precipitate charge of our Northern Collegian met with a resentment in which so few can sympathize; and there also, we rejoice to believe, that it met its best refutation. And if, in that wealthy seat of learning, even twenty individuals could be found to master the difficulties of the French analysis, this in the midst of surrounding degradation and poverty, of itself speaks volumes for endowments."

Our author writes like one at home in his subject, and he ventures the opinion, that but for a statute of apprenticeship, as some are fond of naming it, Dr. Thomas Brown could not have upheld a class of fifty students, even in the metropolis of Scotland. He informs us that Lacroix of Paris taught a class of the higher mathematics, where he was often attended by not more than eight students. Such a class could not be sustained by fees alone. To this we may add, that, a few years ago, de Sacy was lecturing to not more than half a dozen, and Bopp to a number smaller still. It is mortifying to observe the same distaste for the severer studies in our own country, and the consequent disposition to exchange the useful but herculean tasks of real scholarship, for the delusive and acceptable methods of our superficial age; to find even the lectures of some colleges and other schools yielding somewhat every year of their masculine, disciplinary character, and courting the temporary applauses of the crowd. This evil is almost necessarily incident to a system which proposes to draw all the emolument of the teach-

er from the fees of his class. It has been hurried on with double rapidity, by the extraordinary impulse given within a year or two to public lectures, *de omni scibili*, in which, before Lyceums, Institutes, and companies of gentlemen and ladies, the evolution of scientific truth has been made the occasion for the clapping of hands, and all the applausive tokens of the play-house. We speak, we are sure, the sentiment of every professional man of science or letters, when we deprecate this histrionic degradation of public instruction, which is daily subjecting the character of sound teachers to a stigma due only to itinerants and charlatans.

At pulerum est digito monstrari, et dicier : Hic est.
 Ten' cirratorum centum dictata fuisse,
 Pro nihilo pendas?

It is no doubt pleasing, both to the teacher and the taught ; but whether it is advantageous to sound learning and solid instruction, to college-methods or public taste, is quite another question. Should the rage for popularizing all knowledge extend much further, we shall see one branch of rigid study after another given away, and their places supplied by others more suited to the demands of labour-hating lads and a utilitarian public.

The testimony of Dr. Chalmers is strong and valuable, touching the services derived to national literature from the labours of truly learned professors in colleges. More than half the distinguished authorship of Scotland is professional ; and 'till the present generation,' says he, 'we scarcely remember, with the exception of Hume in philosophy and Thomson in poetry, any of our eminent writers who did not achieve, or at least germinate, all their greatest works while labouring in their vocation of public instructors in one or other of our universities.' And he appeals to the works of Colin Maclaurin, Robert Simson, Matthew Stewart of Glasgow, Dr. Black, Professor Robison, the Monros, the Gregories, Cullen, Playfair, Leslie, Hamilton of Aberdeen, Hutcheson, Hill the theologian, Adam Smith, Reid, Miller, Blair, Campbell, John Hunter, Beattie, Dugald Stewart, Tytler, Ferguson, and Brown. With one or two exceptions, the great works of these men were all originally part of their instructions to their classes. That the case is very different, where church-benefices are more lucrative than university-places, is an undoubted fact, stated, in a well-known passage, by Adam Smith. 'It is observed,' says he, 'by M. de Voltaire, that Father Porrée, a Jesuit, of no great eminence in the republic of letters, was the only professor

they had ever had in France whose works were worth reading. In a country which has produced so many eminent men of letters, it must appear somewhat singular that scarcely one of them should have been a professor in a university. The famous Gassendi was, in the beginning of his life, a professor in the university of Aix. Upon the first dawning of his genius, it was represented to him, that by going into the church he could easily find a much more quiet and comfortable subsistence, as well as a better situation for pursuing his studies; and he immediately followed the advice. The observation of M. de Voltaire may be applied, I believe, not only to France, but to all other Roman Catholic countries. We very rarely find in any of them an eminent man of letters, who is a professor in a university, except, perhaps, in the professions of law and physic; from which the church is not so likely to draw them. After the church of Rome, that of England is by far the richest and best endowed church in Christendom. In England, accordingly, the church is continually draining the universities of all their best and ablest members; and an old college-tutor, who is known and distinguished in Europe, as an eminent man of letters, is as rarely to be found there, as in any Roman Catholic country. In Geneva, on the contrary, in the Protestant cantons of Switzerland, in the Protestant countries of Germany, in Holland, in Scotland, in Sweden, and Denmark, the most eminent men of letters whom those countries have produced, have, not all indeed, but the far greater part of them, been professors in universities.'

Dr. Chalmers goes so far as to defend the lordlier endowments of Oxford and Cambridge, maintaining that their fellowships and bursaries or scholarships have not been thrown away, inasmuch as they have produced 'those men of might and of high achievement—the Newtons, and the Miltons, and the Drydens, and the Barrows, and the Addisons, and the Butlers, and the Clarkes, and the Stillingfleets, and the Usshers, and the Foxes, and the Pitts, and Johnsons, who within their attic retreats, received their first awakening, which afterwards expanded into the aspirations and the triumphs of loftiest genius. This'—he adds with a glow which many of our readers will appreciate—'this is the heraldry of colleges. Their family honour is built on the prowess of sons, not on the greatness of ancestors.'*

* The following catalogue of alumni of Oxford and Cambridge, whose names

American statesmen, clergymen and scholars, would do well to ponder the remarks of this liberal man, upon the failure of so many dissenting academies and colleges, so called, in England. Some have dwindled, some have passed

are most familiar, as connected with the learning or the politics of England, we borrow from Dr. Chalmers :—

OXFORD. 1. Merton College.—Bishop Jewell, Bishop Hooper, Shute Barrington Bishop of Durham, Duns Scotus, Wickliffe, Anthony Wood, Steele.

2. University College.—Thomas Kay or Caius, Lord Herbert, Hurd, Radcliffe, Sir William Jones.

3. Baliol College.—Bishop Douglas, Keil, Bradley.

4. Exeter College.—Prideaux, Conybeare, Secker, Lord Shaftesbury, Maundrell, Kennicot.

5. Oriel College.—Bishop Butler, Sir Walter Raleigh, Dr. Joseph Warton.

6. Queen's College.—Henry V., Bernard Gilpin, William Gilpin (on the Picturesque), Wingate, Wycherley, Mill (Prolegomena), Halley, Addison, Tickell, Seed, Shaw (Travels, &c.), Collins (Poet), Burn (Justice).

7. New College.—Lowth, Young, Pitt (Poet).

8. Lincoln College.—Archbishop Potter, Tindal (Deist), Hervey, Wesley.

9. All Souls' College.—Sir Christopher Wren, Jeremy Taylor, Blackstone.

10. Magdalene College.—Bishop Horne, Wolsey, Hampden, Hammond, Sacheverell, Yalden, Gibbon, Chandler.

11. Brazen Nose College.—Fox (Martyrs), Burton (Melancholy), Petty (Political Arithmetic).

12. Corpus Christi College.—Pococke (Traveller), Twyne, Hooker, Dr. Nathaniel Foster, Day, Sir Ashton Lever.

13. Christ Church.—John Owen, Atterbury, Horsley, Lord Littleton, Lord Mansfield, Ben Jonson, Otway, Gilbert West, Cambden, Gunter, William Penn, Desaguiliers, Lord Bolingbroke.

14. Trinity College.—Chillingworth, Denham (Poet), Blount (Traveller), Harrington (Oceana), Derham, Whitby, Lord Chatham, Thomas Warton.

15. St. John's College.—Archbishop Laud, Briggs, Sir John Marsham (Chronologist), Josiah Tucker.

19. Jesus' College.—Ussher.

17. Wadham College.—Walsh (Poet), Admiral Blake, Creech (Lucretius), Dr. Mayow, Harris (Hermes).

18. Pembroke College.—Bishop Bonner, Pym, Whitefield, Shenstone, Dr. Johnson.

19. Worcester College.—Sir Kenelm Digly.

20. Hertford College.—Richard Newton, Selden, Dr. Donne, Charles Fox.

21. St. Alban's Hall.—Massinger.

22. Edmund Hall.—Sir Richard Blackmore.

23. St. Mary's Hall.—Sir Thomas More, Harriot.

24. New Inn Hall.—Scott (Christian Life).

25. St. Mary Magdalene Hall.—Sir Henry Vane, Lord Clarendon, Sir Matthew Hale, Theophilus Gale.

CAMBRIDGE. 1. Peters' House, or College.—Law Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Sherlock Senior, Garth the Poet, Gray the Poet.

2. Clarehall.—Archbishop Tillotson, Cudworth, Langhorne, Dodd.

3. Pembroke Hall.—Dr. Calamy, Spenser, Mason, Pitt.

4. Granville and Caius' College.—Jeremy Taylor, Titus Oates, Dr. Harvey (Circulation of the Blood), Dr. Clarke, Lord Thurlow.

5. Trinity Hall.—Dr. Horsley.

6. Corpus Christi, or Benet College.—Dr. Briggs, Fletcher the Dramatic Poet, Dr. Sykes.

from one sect to another, and some have passed away entirely. We lament the cause; it was the want of suitable endowment; but our countrymen seem disposed to renew the fatal experiment, in a multitude of instances, and, young as we are, we can already show the ruins of some colleges, and the tottering decrepitude of others.

Living as we do in a country where the demand for gospel labour is such as all our colleges together cannot supply, it strikes us strangely to learn from such an authority as Dr. Chalmers, that there is an excess of licentiates or probationers in the established church. In the Scottish Establishment, there are, at a fair estimate, not quite thirty nominations to churches yearly, to supply which demand, two hundred theological students would be amply sufficient. But in 1824, there were upwards of seven hundred. Dr. Chalmers considers the profession as greatly overstocked. We cannot but express our conviction, that in this state of the case, our Scottish brethren have not begun a day too soon to send off their sons among the Gentiles. The method of remedying this evil, which he proposes, is to raise higher the demands of intellectual discipline and preparation. Whether right or wrong in this application of his principles, he certainly speaks to our convictions and echoes our experience when he declares the radical error of such a system to be the too early admittance of youth to the Universities. We know less of Scotland, but we can answer knowingly of

7. King's College.—Pearson, Oughtred, Gouge, Walsingham, Waller, Collins the freethinker, Sir Robert Walpole, Horace Walpole.

8. Queen's College.—Bishop Patrick, Erasmus, Wallis, Thomas Fuller.

9. Catharine Hall.—Lightfoot, Sherlock Junior, Hoadly, Reay.

10. Jesus' College.—Archbishop Cranmer, Elliot the Missionary, Flamstead, Fenton, Jortin, Hartley, Sterne, Gilbert Wakefield, Henry Venn.

11. Christ's College.—Latimer, Bishop Porteus, Milton, Mede, Quarles, Howe, Sanderson, Paley.

12. St. John's College.—Gauden, Stillingfleet, Roger Ascham, Cecil, Lord Burleigh, Ben Johnson, Otway, Cave, Prior, Bentley, Ambrose Phillips, John and Thomas Balguy, Ogden, Soame Jenyns, Theophilus Lindsey, Horne Tooke, Churchill.

13. Magdalene College.—Waterland, Lord Stafford, Waring.

14. Trinity College.—Wilkins, Barrow, Smith (Optics), Tunstall, Newton (Prophecies), Bishop Watson, Bacon, Newton, Middleton, Dryden, Lord Essex, Donne, Coke, Cowley, Pell, Cotes, Conyers Middleton, Atwood, Maskelyne, Porson.

15. Emanuel College.—Farmer (Shakspeare), Bishop Hall, Chandler, Hurd, Horrox, Matthew Poole, Charnocke, Sir William Temple, Law (Serious Call), Martyn (Botany).

16. Sidney Sussex.—Ward (Mathematics), Cromwell, Wollaston.

It would be very easy to draw up a list far more complete and striking; but we choose to avail ourselves of Dr. Chalmers's own selections.

America, that this single evil has been the mother of thousands. We are surprised indeed to observe that students are admitted to the Scotch universities on a stock of classical preparation much smaller than what is demanded by those of our colleges which merit the name : we know of no institution, for instance, which would receive a youth, ' without the first elements of Greek.' But we have learnt from the professors of more than one seminary, how much of the brief four years' course, is often absorbed in the attempt, generally futile, to inculcate into college lads, that which they should have gained under the ferula of a master. The reference of our author to the Gymnasias of Germany, seminaries namely between the grammar-school and the college, is one which has suggested itself to many practical teachers in this country ; but such is the burning haste of youth to be men, and of tiros to be in professions, that parents are hoodwinked, schoolmasters are almost constrained to infund the tiny accomplishment which shall be a viaticum to the Freshman seats, and professors find themselves bringing up the rear, with such a retinue of scholars as they would dismiss instanter, if it were practicable to carry on the work of education without them. Our older and more established colleges have for some years been increasing the pains requisite for initiation, but, to judge by the classical attainments of graduates from a number of institutions, whom we have had occasion to hear examined, we should think the emendatory process only half complete.

To escape these inconveniences, some have prescribed a certain age, under which no one should be matriculated ; a wise method, if the attainments were always in the ratio of the years, but one which would have excluded a Bacon, an Ussher, a Milton, an Owen, a Grotius and a Barratier ; and one which Dr. Chalmers very justly rejects. He suggests, as a better plan, that no youth should be entered of a college, without competency to execute certain prescribed versions, to translate the easier Latin authors *ad aperturam libri*, or above all without acquaintance with the syntax and grammar of the language, together with as much Greek as might be expected from two years' study. In England, young men receive a far higher preparation for the university than we give in America ; our practice being in this respect too much like that of the Scotch. Dr. Chalmers freely admits the advantages derived in the 'class room of the English tutor, with its perpetual task-work and over-

hanging vigilance ;' while he claims benefits for the Scottish system of instruction by lectures, in which last particular again our best colleges resemble those of Scotland.

"We maintain, that by our peculiar methods, students can be effectually prepared for such a trial," that, namely, of public examinations, "and that from the lecture-rooms of our Scottish professors, there might issue youths as thoroughly accomplished in the principles of the ethical and intellectual philosophy, in political economy, and the various branches of a theological education, as if they had been made to undergo that more elaborate distillation which is imaged to take place in the tutor's class-rooms of Oxford and Cambridge. There is doubtless a certain style of close and almost compulsory tuition by which every doctrine of a text-book might be infused into the scholar's mind, and which can be better accomplished by a Fellow in his chamber, with a few pupils, than by a Professor, in his lecture-room with many. But, then, however needed by boys, it is not needed by young men who have outgrown their boyhood. For example, a class might thus be most minutely and thoroughly lessoned in every chapter and paragraph of Paley's *Moral Philosophy* : and yet we are confident that, by the ordinary collegiate methods of Scotland, and more especially if an hour of examination were superadded to the hour of lecturing"—a method familiar to American professors—"a tenfold number of youths could not only be instructed, but soundly instructed, and that within half-a-year, not in the doctrine of this book only, but in all the doctrines of any worth or prominence which are to be found in the most distinguished works on ethical science. In that space of time, the professor could take a wide compass over the whole literature of his subject ; and he could deliver with fulness and effect all the truths of permanent importance which have been expounded by our best writers, from Bacon and Butler, to Brown and Dugald Stewart of our own day ; and he could make full exposure of the scepticism and the infidel sophistries by which the orthodox system of morals has been assailed ; and he could sit in judgment on all his predecessors ; and without either trampling on that which is precious, or going wildly astray after the novelties of wayward speculation, he could nevertheless cast the science in the mould of his own understanding, and transmute it into his own language, and throw all the freshness of an original interest over the lessons of his course ; and with these lessons he could thoroughly imbue the great majority of his pupils, traversing along with them the whole length and breadth of his department, and giving them, we are sure, a far greater amount of instruction than they ever could acquire by conning over the dicta of any single author, in the pages of an established text-book. For giving effect to this high professional mode of teaching, all that we require is a sufficient age for our pupil. This is the great reformation wanted ; and not that we should exchange the methods of Smith, and Stewart, and Playfair, and Jardine and Black, for the mere pedagogy of the English colleges."

The second subject which has attracted our particular attention in these works, is that of Church Establishments. We do not propose to investigate the general question. Even the potent arguments of Dr. Chalmers do not move us. But in so far as our own country is summoned as a witness, and set forth as an example, we certainly have a word or two to say. We have never happened to meet with an American Presbyterian who was in favour of an established church ; we expect not the sight of such a one. But while this is

true, and while we further believe that the occasional outcry about church and state is, in regard to our country, a most senseless and a most hypocritical clamour, and that the very antagonism of the several sects will alone serve for ages to come to preclude such a connexion, it is no less true, that in regard to the existing establishments of the old world, there is more to be said, than is apparent at first view, to every declaimer on the subject. Dr. Chalmers, it is well known, is the champion at once of Church Establishments, and of the Headship of Christ, the defender of endowments and the opposer of patronage. It is for him, and no man is better able, to clear the paradox of these positions.

There are those who talk of destroying the English Establishment as coolly as if it were the taking down of a scaffold, or the bouleversement of a paper constitution by a primary convention. Let such hear a powerful but perverse master of English idiom and of native logic,—let them hear William Cobbett, as quoted by Dr. Chalmers; and first as to the probable permanency of the Establishment: “Go upon a hill, if you can find one, in Suffolk or Norfolk; and you can find plenty in Hampshire and Devonshire and Wiltshire; look to the church steeples, one in about every four square miles at the most on an average—imagine a man, of small learning at the least, to be living in a genteel and commodious house, by the side of every one of these steeples, almost always with a wife and family; always with servants, natives of the parish, gardener, groom at the least, and all other servants. A large farm-yard, barns, stables, threshers, a carter or two, more or less of glebe and of farming. Imagine this gentleman having an interest, an immediate and pressing interest in the productiveness of every field in his parish—being probably the largest corn-seller in the parish, and the largest rate-payer—more deeply interested than any other man can possibly be in the happiness, harmony, morals, industry and sobriety of the people in his parish. Imagine his innumerable occasions for doing acts of kindness; his immense power in preventing the strong from oppressing the weak; his salutary influence coming between the hard farmer, if there be one in his parish, and the simple-minded labourer. Imagine all this to exist close alongside of every one of these steeples, and you will at once say to yourself, hurricanes and earthquakes must destroy this island before that church can be overthrown. And when you add to all this, that this gentleman,

besides the example of good manners, of mildness, and of justice, that his life and conversation are constantly keeping before the eye of his parishioners—when you add to all this, that one day in every week he has them assembled together, to sit in silence ; to receive his advice, his admonitions, his interpretation of the will of God as applicable to their conduct and affairs ; and that, too, in an edifice rendered sacred in their eyes, from their knowing that their forefathers assembled there in ages passed, and from its being surrounded by the graves of their kindred—when this is added, and when it is recollected that the children pass through his hands at their baptism, that it is he alone who celebrates the marriages, and performs the last sad service over the graves of the dead—when you think of all this, it is too much to believe that such a church can fall.”

“Yet fall it will”—adds Cobbett. And as the obverse of the medal, he gives us his opinion of the actual working of the establishment.

“This is an Established Christian Church ; and this, the parsons will tell the people that they actually have ; and you will tell the people who have no house and land, that in calling for the abolition of tithes, they are in fact calling upon the rich to take from them, the poor, the only property that they have in the country. Alas ! you will tell them this in vain. They know that the church is not this thing now to them ; they know that you do not visit their houses and comfort them when they are sick, except in instances so rare, that they hardly ever hear of them ; they know that you do not teach their children, and that, though the churchwardens annually certify the bishop that the children *communicate*, hardly a workman in the kingdom ever saw or heard of such a thing being done ; they know that you are frequently on the bench, perched up as justices of the peace ; they know that you frequently sentence them to punishment without trial by jury, and sentence to transportation for what is called poaching. This is the capacity in which they now know you ; and to induce them to stir hand, foot, or tongue, in defence of this establishment, is no more possible than it is to induce a Jew to give a farthing of his interest.”

We say Dr. Chalmers quotes these and other like passages from Cobbett, and he quotes them in order to show that this able but prejudiced writer saw clearly how to distinguish between the machine and the working of it. But is

not the same distinction equally available, nay a thousand times more available, on behalf of the voluntary system, or, if you please, absence of system, in our own country? And may not an American Christian take a vantage ground to ask, If you, our elder brethren, after centuries of settled institutions plead the ill-working of these institutions, how much the more shall we, in a new country, with a domain scarcely yet reclaimed from its aboriginal condition, plead the impossibility of showing any adequate results from our system? It is common for the advocates of Establishments to cite the extensive wastes in the territory of the United States; and Dr. Chalmers shows the melancholy effect of leaving religious instruction to be originated by the native and spontaneous demand of the people, as most strikingly exemplified in the southern and western sections of the United States of America, by citing the late Rev. Samuel J. Mills, who declares the whole country from lake Erie to the Gulph of Mexico, to be as the valley of the shadow of death, having a 'little more than one hundred Presbyterian or Congregational ministers in it.' Now not to say, that a country may have neither a Presbyterian nor a Congregational minister in it, and yet not be as the valley of the shadow of death, and not to say, further, that bad as the fact is, it is not, even after the great increase of population, bad enough to justify these expressions,—we respectfully ask of such as would found an argument on the want of gospel instructions in the west—How would they go about to supply it? By an establishment? The very proposition is ludicrous, for its insufficiency and its impracticability. Were it possible, which may God forbid, that our Government should chequer the whole valley of the Mississippi with parishes, where shall the houses, the stipends, and the men be found. We too could 'call spirits from the vasty deep.' We could perhaps find a thousand fox-hunting, horse-racing, godless clergymen, who would scramble for a benefice as men now do for a place; but surely these are not the means by which our British brethren would have us to evangelize our Continent. Be it further observed, that even without an establishment, it is undoubtedly true of the whole population of these United States, that as large a proportion attends divine service as of the whole population of Great Britain; that of our people no portion is more remote from divine culture, than that which we derive from the land of church endowments; and that in the land of

church endowments itself, the Establishment has utterly failed to do what it professes ; the like want among us, being charged as the grand delinquency of the voluntary system. For how does the Establishment succeed in evangelizing the poor of Britain ? To answer this question, we shall not go to England, where the lowest classes (an extensive appellation) are lower in Christian knowledge and immeasurably lower in comfort than the slaves of America ;* we shall not go to St. Giles, or the factories, or to the collieries, where males and females work together in a state of nudity, and female children, in chains, drag loaded carts for hours through avenues fully equal in darkness and filth to common sewers ;† we shall not go to that part of the island in which thirty millions of dollars are expended annually on the support of paupers, who, for such support are made slaves, and all of whom have equal rights in the great church establishment. But we shall go to Scotland, a country which we love, and to Edinburgh the most picturesque of cities, and the very seat of Presbytery ; and we shall take as our witness no voluntary nor seceder, but the greatest of Scots churchmen, even Chalmers himself. What, then, is the amount of Christian instruction actually afforded by the established church of Scotland to the poor in Edinburgh ?

To understand the answer, let it be noted, that Edinburgh proper, within the royalty, had, at the date of Dr. Chalmers's work on church extension, a population of 55,232. For these there is a provision of eighteen ministers, who officiate in thirteen churches. Now, we are astounded at the news, that in the old town of Edinburgh, chiefly occupied by the common people, and consisting of 28,196 inhabitants, *only 727 attend the parish churches of the city*. This is brought about "in virtue of the seat-letting being in the hands of the magistrates."

"So that, practically, the matter proceeds thus : the seats are as good as put up to auction ; for it is altogether tantamount to this, that they are held forth at a price calculated and determined by the known acceptance and popularity of the minister."—"The families, and more especially of the Old Town, have

* If any one doubt the statement, let him read what we have published, in our number for July, 1841, article iv. pp. 427, 441.

† Anticipating the denial of these facts, by interested persons, we are almost tempted to subjoin the evidence, as given to the Commissioners, disgusting as are its details ; but we forbear. Sufficient to say, the allusion in the text gives but a feeble impression of the fact. That the case is so, what brightened, is due to the philanthropic zeal of Lord Ashley. For particulars, see the *Quarterly Review* for June, 1842, p. 158, et seq.

been ousted from their own proper churches; and the clergymen of these parishes, saddled with general congregations, have been dismissed from their own parish families. The working-classes have been shouldered out of the Sabbath-places which belonged to them by richer competitors from all distances, and from all points of the compass. *I always understood it as a great argument for our establishment, that in providing for the support of the minister, it provided a cheap, if not a gratuitous Christian ministrations*; so as to make the services of the minister and the accommodation in his church a sort of common good to the folk of his parish. But the Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh have taken another way of it, and still, however, make they a common good of it. After having wrested from the parishioners of the Old Town their proper and original intention, the sittings of their own churches, and exposed what they thus wrested to general sale—the proceeds of the unhallowed merchandise still go to a common good, it would appear, and that is to the common good of the city corporation. This sounds patriotically; but, in plain English, they have turned, and in what numbers, I shall presently tell—they have turned the working-classes adrift into the outfields of heathenism; and with the price of these Sabbath-places from which they have ejected them do they enrich their own treasury. They have in effect planted a toll-gate, a most expensive toll-gate, at the entry of each of the city churches, by which to keep the poor of its parish out, and to let the rich, not of the parish, in.”—“They, (the Magistrates and Town Council) have as good as driven the lower classes from the occupancy they once had in the city churches, and hold out to them instead some stately architecture to gaze at. The families in thousands have been plundered of the bread of life, and instead of bread their plunderers have given them a stone.”

One of these very council-men made it his charge against the establishment in Edinburgh, that it was of no further use than *to furnish sermons to ladies and gentlemen*. Under the auspices of another, the following poem appeared in Tait's Magazine: for both statements, Dr. Chalmers is our authority.

THE POOR CHRISTIAN AND THE CHURCH.

“He has incurred a long arrear
And must despair to pay.”—COWPER.
“To the poor the gospel is (not) preached.”

“How glorious Zion's courts appear,”
The pious poor man cries:
“Stand back, you knave, you're in arrears,”
The manager replies.

POOR CHRISTIAN.

“The genius of the Christian code
Is charity, humility;”

MANAGER, (*in a rage.*)

“I've let your pew to ladies, Sir,
Of great respectability.”

POOR CHRISTIAN.

“And am I thus debarred the house
Where erst my father prayed?”

Excluded from the hallowed fane,
Where my loved mother's laid?"

MANAGER.

"*Their* seat-rent, Sir, was never due;
The matter to enhance,
As duly as the term came round,
They paid it in advance."

POOR CHRISTIAN.

"The temple of the living God
Should have an open door,
And Christ's ambassadors should preach
The gospel to the poor."

MANAGER.

"We cannot, Sir, accommodate
The poor in their devotions;
Besides we cordially detest
Such antiquated notions.

"We build our fanes, and deck our pews
For men of wealth and station;
(Yet for a time the thing has proved
A losing speculation.)

"Then table down your cash anon
Ere you come here to pray;
Else you may wander where you will,
And worship where you may."

POOR CHRISTIAN.

"Then I shall worship in that fane
By God to mankind given;
Whose lamps are the meridian sun,
And all the stars of Heaven;

"Whose walls are the cerulean sky,
Whose floor the earth so fair,
Whose dome is vast immensity;—
All nature worships there."

True it is that the magistrates, not the clergy, of Edinburgh, are chargeable with these abuses. But true as this is, it is no less true, that while great destitutions in American wildernesses are attributed to the want of an establishment, greater destitutions in Scotland, yea, in the 'modern Athens,' are open to day in enormous extent; at the very focal point of the very best establishment extant, and that by the showing of the greatest living defender of establishments; and further that if the 27,469 who are thus extruded from their rightful gospel means, enjoy any such means, they enjoy them in independency of the establishments, as entire of that of Wisconsin, Florida, or Oregon. It is not the establishment which aids them. Thus much we felt constrained

to say on this topic, not as discussing the expediency of church endowments in general, but as vindicating the name of American Christianity, which has been unjustly dealt with by almost every European defender of establishments; all concurring in pointing to our unevangelized thousands, as demonstrating the impotency of a church separate from the state, and all agreeing to forget the amazing and almost immeasurable expansion of a rapidly increasing and widely emigrant population. Least of all, it strikes us, does such an argument comport with the published views of Dr. Chalmers, a zealous Malthusian: and we are bound, in leaving the subject, to say that he has of all writers laid least stress upon it.

If, instead of considering the case of Scotland, where after all, the gospel is more adequately preached than in any country in the world, we had chosen to dwell upon the condition of the English poor, we might have astonished our readers in no ordinary degree. How far the Anglican establishment has vindicated its arrogant claim of preaching the gospel to the poor, may be judged from the facts, that in England and Wales there is a population of three millions destitute of pastoral superintendence; and that, taking the country at large, the actual church-room varies from one in eight to one in thirty.*

The third topic of great interest, which is discussed in these volumes, is the Support of the Poor. Two methods have divided the favour of philanthropic legislation. The first is the system of compulsory poor-rates; the second is the system of voluntary relief. The former prevails in England and Wales, the latter, till lately, has been the general method in Scotland; and it is this which Dr. Chalmers supports. In this cause his zeal is great, and he has laboured in it indefatigably for more than twenty years, in sermons, lectures, speeches in church-courts, reviews, pamphlets, and separate volumes, as may be seen in his 'Political Economy,' his 'Christian and Economic Polity,' his 'Church Extension,' and his 'Parochial Economy,' comprised in eight of these volumes.

Of the English system, by which two millions of paupers are aided, in whole or in part, a full account has already been given, by an abler hand, in former pages of our

* Our authority is the Archbishop of Canterbury. See London Record, July 30, 1840.

work.* We shall therefore assume, on the part of the reader, a general acquaintance with the history and actual state of English Pauperism; premising, that no patriotic American will wisely refuse his attention to the subject, as a transatlantic one, since the inevitable tendency in our elder states, and especially our older towns, is to a condition of things which nothing can prevent or relieve so well as the lights derived from the experience of the Old World.

It is maintained by Dr. Chalmers, that the English method of relief fails of its object, tends to magnify the evil, and generates new abuses, greater than those which it would relieve. These evils are now almost irremediable, so that, as he says in his Memoir read before the Royal Institute of France, 'Foreigners are more likely to profit from the history of this great and memorable delusion than the country itself which has been the victim of it, and which at this moment makes striking display of the tenacity of inveterate and long-established error, in extending the same hurtful policy to Ireland—thereby to aggravate the distempers of that unhappy land.' And he reasons thus. Providence has constituted man with reference to an alleviation if not prevention of extreme want. There is the urgent principle of self-preservation—there is the principle of filial and parental piety—there is the principle of mutual compassion, operating between rich and poor, and yet more strongly between poor and poor. But each of these is injured and enfeebled by the influence of a public charity for the relief of indigence: and of this proposition, the facts in proof fill these volumes. The English Poor-law has created more misery than it can by any possibility relieve. Many a single parish holds forth in miniature the example of an over-peopled world. Again, the affection of relationship is undermined. Aged parents are abandoned by their children, and children by their parents. Thousands, every year, abscond from their dwellings, and consign their families to the public. One newspaper contained no less than forty advertisements of runaway husbands from the town of Manchester. 'This unnatural desertion is the epidemic vice of England.' Again, the poor-laws tend to shut up the springs of humane charity. *'All which the rich give to the poor in private beneficence, is but a mite and a trifle when compared with what the poor give to one another.'*

* See Princeton Review, for 1841, pp. 49, and 417.

For example, the legal allowance of bread to prisoners varies at different places. In Bristol it was below the par of human sustenance. The allowance was too small for the criminals; and for the debtors there was no allowance at all. When the latter, therefore, must have inevitably perished of hunger, the former, namely, the criminals, shared their own scanty pittance along with them. Dr. Chalmers's own testimony is, that, when, as a minister in Glasgow, he had a parish of ten thousand people, the poorest of the poor, the spontaneous charity of neighbours for each other was a more certain as well as more abundant source of relief, in cases of extreme indigence, than that legal charity, by which, when in full operation, the other is well nigh superseded. The system, further, arrays the rich against the poor, erecting them into great opposing castes. 'In every way then,' he concludes, 'it is better for a nation to keep clear of any legal enactment for the relief of indigence; and more especially for a government not to take out of the hands of its people, the duties which they owe either to themselves or to their relatives or to their neighbours. The great lesson to be learned from the example of England is, that the economic condition of the lower classes is not improved but deteriorated by the establishment of a compulsory provision for the destitute—which provision too, besides aggravating the miseries of their state, has, by introducing the heterogeneous element of an imagined right into the business of charity, turned what ought to have been altogether a matter of love into a matter of angry litigation, and greatly distempered the social condition of England, by the heart-burnings of a perpetual contest between the higher and humbler orders of the commonwealth.'

Among the abundant testimonies cited, is that of Thomas Clarkson, the philanthropist, concerning his own parish, and touching particularly the actual influence of the poor-law upon the English mind and manners:

'The spirit of independence is not entirely, but nearly gone. It is not, I believe, to be found in nine cases out of ten, among the poor. Here and there an old-fashioned labourer remains, who would suffer much, rather than ask for relief.—Among the persons born of late years, all hang on the parish for support.—I have been frequently at Vestry Meetings, where applications have been made for clothing. I have told the father,—'The children are yours, and it is your duty to provide for them, or you ought not to have married.' The answer has always been, 'the children belong to you (the parish); I cannot get for them what they want; you therefore must.'—I have often been inclined to think that they have no natural affection for their children, and I have told them so.—They will tell you at once, 'I have brought up the boy so

far. I wish to get rid of him. He belongs to you.'—In fact the poor-laws have taught the paupers to discard all dependence upon themselves, and to look to the parish for every thing they want."

The testimony is universal throughout England, in regard to the perfect unconcern with which the nearest kinsfolk abandon each other to the poor-house. (vol. xv. p. 149.) And with all these evils the system is inadequate.

"There is, perhaps, no parochial history in England, that more demonstrates the inefficacy of poor-rates,—than that of Darlaston, in Staffordshire. Its population in 1821, was 5585; and of its thousand and eighty families, one thousand and sixty were employed in trade, handicraft and manufactures. Comprehending only about 800 acres of land, it has almost no agricultural resources; so that the rate falls almost entirely on those householders who are not paupers themselves. The chief occupation of the people was mining, and the filing of gunlocks, which latter employment failed them at the termination of the war. The distress began to be felt in 1816, at which time the poor-rate amounted to £2086 15s. 7d. It was now that the resources of a compulsory provision arrived at its limit—for the continued occupation of the land would have ceased to be an object, had the holders of property been compelled to provide for the whole emergency. So that the grand legal expedient of England, was in this instance, tried to the uttermost, and its short-comings had just to be made up by methods that would be far more productive, as well as far less needful, were there no poor-rate, and no law of charity whatever. Mr. Lowe, the humane and enlightened rector of this parish, succeeded, by great exertion, in raising the sum of £1274 14s. 8d. from the benevolent in various parts of the country; besides which there was the sum of £1157 10s. contributed by a society that was formed, we believe, in London, to provide for the extra distress of that period. In all there was distributed among the poor in 1816-'17, the sum of £4523 3s. The parish work-house was quite filled with them. Its rooms were littered down for the reception of as many as could be squeezed together. Some were employed to work upon the roads—and in the distributions that took place of soup, and potatoes, and herrings, the gates were literally borne off the hinges, by the pressure of the starving multitude.—We have the distinct testimony of Mr. Lowe, that it lay within the means of the people in good times, to have saved as much as would have weathered the whole distress."

"—In all parts of England, the shameless and abandoned profligacy of the lower orders is most deplorable. It is, perhaps, not too much to say, that the expense for illegitimate children forms about a tenth part of the whole expense of English pauperism. We do not deduct, however, the sums recovered from the fathers, our object not being to exhibit the pecuniary burden that is incurred, but, what is far more serious, the fearful relaxation of principle which it implies.—In the parish of Stroud, Gloucestershire, whose population is 7097, there now reside sixty-seven mothers of illegitimate children, who are of an age or in circumstances, to be still chargeable on a Poor-Rate. In the In Parish of St. Cuthbert, Wells, with a population of 3024, there are eighteen such mothers. In St. Mary's Within, Carlisle, a population of 5592, and twenty-eight mothers. In the parish of St. Cuthbert's Within, of Carlisle, there is a population of 5884, and also twenty-eight mothers of illegitimate children now on the parish. In Horsley, Gloucestershire, there is a population of 3565, and, at present, twenty-nine illegitimate children regularly provided for. In St. Mary le Bone, the number of these children on the parish, is four hundred and sixty. But it were endless to enumerate examples: and perhaps, the far most impressive evidence that could be given of the woful deterioration which the Poor-Laws of England are now working on the character of its people, is to be

gathered, not from the general statement of a political arithmetic on the subject, but from the individual displays that are afforded, either in parish vestries, or in the domestic habitations of the peasantry; the unblushing avowals of women, and their insolent demands, and the triumph of an imaginary right over all the tremors and delicacies of remorse which may be witnessed at the one; and in the other, the connivance of parents, and sisters, and natural guardians, at a prostitution now rendered creditable, because so legalized, as at least to be rendered lucrative. Instances do occur, of females who have so many illegitimate children as to derive a competency from the positive allowance given them by the parish."

The public charity of Scotland is less pernicious than that of England, because it less violates the constitution of human society. The difference between the two countries in this respect is wide. In the one, we read of a Scots parish supporting its paupers for twenty pounds a year; in the other, of many an English parish of equal population expending fifteen hundred pounds a year for the same object. There is indeed in Scotland a number of parishes in a transition state from one method to the other. The general plan, however, is, to raise a fund, chiefly by collections at the church-doors, which is administered by the Kirk-Session. Through all the parishes where this mode is resorted to, Dr. Chalmers estimates the average expense of pauperism at less than forty pounds a year.

In the support of spontaneous rather than compulsory charity, Dr. Chalmers entrenches himself on scriptural ground, and takes the Bible as the surest directory of beneficence. The lesson here learnt is, that the poor of each separate congregation should be supported from church-offerings alone. And here, we freely admit, is the particular point at which it seems impossible to apply his principles in all their extent to the nascent pauperism of America; inasmuch as his whole scheme presupposes a parochial division of territory, such as is rendered impossible by the intermingling of sects under our free constitution. Yet, even in the working of a plan of which the principle may never be adopted by us, we may learn much that is valuable from the details; we shall not fail therefore to give a succinct view of the remarkable experience of our author, for eighteen years, chiefly as pastor of two churches in the most populous city of Scotland.

Dr. Chalmers was successively the minister of two parishes in Glasgow, four years of the first, and rather longer of the second. In the Tron-church parish, the poor were sustained partly by compulsory assessment, and partly by collections at the church-doors. In St. John's, the Session

stipulated for a separate and independent management of their own collections; engaging, in return, to send no more paupers to the fund by assessment, and to provide for every new applicant by church-alms alone. They succeeded in extricating the parish from the city-system, in spite of opposition from the General Session, the Town Hospital, and the Presbytery. It was with difficulty, and only by personal vindication before the General Assembly, that Dr. Chalmers obtained the privilege of trying his experiment. These, he often states, were the only difficulties: 'When,' says he, 'instead of the old managers of the poor, we had but the poor themselves to deal with, all went on smoothly and prosperously.'

The population of the parish, in 1819, was 10,304; it has since reached 14,000. It was and is the poorest as well as the largest parish in Glasgow. The annual expenditure for the whole city sometimes exceeded £14,000. The produce of the church-door collections at St. John's, had averaged £400 a year: with this Dr. C. agreed to meet all future claims for relief, besides laying out an annual sum of £225 on the actual pauperism. He further engaged to secure the Town Hospital from the burden of any new pauperism from his parish. There were these conditions, however, which were very equitable, that in those rare seasons of general depression, such as call for a general subscription to eke out wages, the St. John's parish should be left to provide for its poor as in ordinary times; that paupers from other parishes should not invade theirs; and that when surviving hospital-paupers died off, the parish should be relieved from further assessment: 'a most advantageous bargain, truly, for the administrators of the old system with the poorest parish in the city.' Not one of these conditions was ever fulfilled. The scheme was by many regarded with disdain; but it was executed, and the method was this: the parish was divided into twenty-five parts, under the management of *twenty-five deacons*, each of them having charge of about four hundred persons. No case was brought before the deacons, as a body, till the individual to whom it belonged had made sure what each applicant could do for himself. The Sabbath collection amounted to £600 a year; but this whole sum went, in the first instance, towards the expenses of the old pauperism, with which they had charged themselves. The deacons were concerned solely with the new pauperism. The only fund at their disposal was

from a small evening-collection of half-pence at the church-doors, from a worshipping assembly of poor people, altogether distinct from the wealthier congregation which assembled in the morning from all parts of the town: it fell short of £100 a year. The grand difficulty, it is obvious, must have been in the disposal of the new cases, but the success of the trial was triumphant. At the end of four years, in a population at that time of about ten thousand, the whole of the new pauperism, in this the poorest parish, never exceeded in expense, £66 6s., or, deducting cases of lunacy, disease and the like, never exceeded £32. The number of new paupers was thirteen. And what is far more extraordinary was the facility of the operation, as discovered when an inquiry was made by circular of the deacons themselves, the answers to which are given, at length, in the sixteenth volume. The time spent by each deacon in this matter did not average more than three hours a month. The system was by far the most popular among the indigent classes. The enemies daily predicted failure: but it did not fail. When, in 1823, Dr. Chalmers left Glasgow, they predicted that the loss of his personal influence would be fatal to the system; but the recorded testimony of his successors, Dr. M'Farlane and Dr. Brown, shows that its vitality was undiminished and effective. Surely we do not wonder at the enthusiasm of Dr. Chalmers, nor at his repugnance to a change of the Presbyterian method. 'If England,' says he, 'will so idolize her own institutions, as to be unwilling to part even with their worst vices, she must be let alone since she will have it so. But let her not inoculate with the vices of her own moral gangrene, those countries which have the misfortune to border on her territory, and be subject to her sway: and, more especially, let not the simple and venerated parochial system of our own land lie open to the crudities, or be placed at the disposal of a few cockney legislators.'

We have gone into these statements, notwithstanding our clear apprehension of the disregard with which details so foreign and so dry will be treated by some even of our own readers; but with the encouraging hope that the number of Christian economists is perpetually on the increase, and that to such as merit the appellation, discussions of this kind will never be unwelcome.

ART. III.—*The Kingdom of Christ delineated, in two Essays on our Lord's own account of his person and of the nature of his Kingdom, and on the Constitution, Powers and Ministry of a Christian Church, as appointed by himself.* By Richard Whately, D. D. Archbishop of Dublin. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 161 Broadway. 1842.

THIS volume comes commended to our diligent attention by the previous reputation of the writer, by his high official standing in the Church of England, and by the eagerness with which some have done their best to prepossess the public mind against it. It is worthy of remark, that the same class of persons, who would make the Presbyterian system of Church Government responsible for all the inconsistent views of individual Presbyterians, are forward to disclaim the work before us as possessing an episcopal authority. The earnestness with which this disavowal has been made is well adapted to excite curiosity, and to suggest the question, what could a bishop or archbishop write, to throw his own camp into such confusion? This curiosity, so far as it exists upon the part of our own readers, we shall now proceed to satisfy by stating, as briefly and as clearly as we can, the main points of Archbishop Whately's doctrine as to the "constitution, powers and ministry of the Christian church." The first of the two essays, "on Christ's own account of his person and of the nature of his kingdom as set forth at his two trials," we shall leave unnoticed, as less interesting to our readers.

In the second essay, the Archbishop first attempts to show that Christianity was designed to be a social religion, and the Christian church an organized society, as such possessing officers by whom the church itself was represented, bye-laws obligatory on its members as to matters in themselves indifferent, and a power of determining the qualifications of its members. These, he maintains, are essential attributes of every voluntary organized society, expressly recognized by Christ himself, in the appointment of the first church officers, and in the grant of the power of the keys and of remission. His language on these subjects would of course be understood by his disciples in accordance with that system under which they lived, and in which

there were not only ordained officers, but powers analogous to those conferred on Christian rulers. The legitimate authority of these Jewish rulers our Lord recognized, while he condemned their abuse of it in putting tradition on a level with the law. Judging by this analogy, the apostles would understand our Lord's commission as empowering them to make regulations for the internal government of the church, and to inflict or remit the punishments of all offending against such regulations. In this sense only would they understand him as empowering them to bind and loose, to forgive sins, and to hold the keys of the "kingdom of heaven," i. e. of the church, which is the meaning of that phrase in the New Testament. This view of our Lord's meaning is confirmed, as the archbishop thinks, by the actual course pursued by the apostles in the execution of their great commission. And here we are met by the first of those original and novel views of a familiar subject, by which the work is specially distinguished. From the very scantiness and absence of detail in the scriptural account of the primitive churches, the archbishop argues that the matters thus omitted were expressly intended to be made the subject of discretionary regulation. In connection with this argument he animadvert upon the error of neglecting to observe the omissions of scripture in interpretation, upon which point he refers to a former publication of his own, in which, it seems, he has endeavoured to show that "that these omissions present a complete moral demonstration, that the apostles and their followers must have been supernaturally withheld from recording great part of the institutions, instructions, and regulations, which must in point of fact, have proceeded from them—withheld on purpose that other churches, in other ages and regions, might not be led to consider themselves bound to adhere to general formularies, customs and rules, that were of local and temporary appointment, but might be left to their own discretion in matters in which it seemed best to divine wisdom that they should be so left." He then proceeds to state as highly probable, if not morally certain, that wherever a Jewish synagogue was brought—the whole or the chief part of it—to embrace the gospel, the apostles did not there so much *form* a Christian church or congregation, as make an existing congregation Christian, by introducing the Christian sacraments and worship, and establishing whatever regulations were requisite for the newly adopted faith, leaving the machinery of government

unchanged, the rulers of synagogues, elders, and other officers, being already provided in the existing institutions. In this way the archbishop thinks that several of the earliest Christian churches did originate; that is, they were converted synagogues; the attempt at this conversion being made wherever synagogues existed. The course pursued in the formation of Christian churches is not minutely stated, though the fact of their formation is distinctly recorded, and the principles on which they must be governed clearly stated, while the precise mode in which they shall be carried out is studiously left undefined. In Paul's Epistles, the archbishop thinks he has observed, that the apostle was left unrestrained in recording particular directions in those cases where there was no danger of his directions being applied in all ages and countries, as binding on every church forever. He also adverts to the remarkable fact, that there is no such description on record of the first appointment of the higher orders of Christian ministers, as there is of the ordination of the deacons; from which he infers that the mention of the latter is merely incidental, and designed to introduce the account of Stephen's martyrdom. In connexion with this part of the subject, he expresses an opinion that the deacons mentioned in the sixth of Acts were only the first Grecian deacons, and that there were Hebrew deacons before. In confirmation of this opinion he quotes an argument of some length from the article on Ecclesiastical History in the Encyclopaedia Metropolitana. From the latter part of this quotation we extract an ingenious theory as to the scriptural use of the word *deacon* and primitive nature of the office so entitled.

"After all, it is most likely that the word *deacon* was originally applied, as its etymology suggests, to all the *ministers* of the gospel establishment. But the Apostles having from the first a specific title, it more properly denoted any minister inferior to them,—any, however employed in the *service* of the Church. Between these, also, there soon obtained a distinction. If we suppose, then, that the *seniors*, or superior class, were distinguished by the obvious title of elder deacons, (πρεσβύτεροι διάκονοι) the generic and unappropriated term "*deacon*" would devolve on the remaining class. And thus the present order in the Church, to which that name is applied, may be truly asserted to be deacons in the apostolical and primitive sense of the word; and yet, nevertheless, much may be said about deacons, both in the New Testament and in the writings of the early fathers, which will not apply to them."

The use made by Whately of the alleged fact that the deacons mentioned in the sixth of Acts, were not the first who held that office, is to illustrate the intentional silence of the sacred volume as to the details of church organization.

"Thus," says he, "a further confirmation is furnished of the view that has been taken, viz. that it was the plan of the sacred writers to lay down clearly the principles on which Christian churches were to be formed and governed, leaving the application of these principles undetermined and discretionary." From this fact, thus established, the archbishop derives, first, an incidental proof of the inspiration of the sacred books, and secondly, the inference that whatever is essential in church government is clearly revealed in scripture, and of course that whatever is not so revealed, must be left to discretionary regulation. According to this view of the matter all points relating to church government may be divided into three classes, 1st, things essential and enjoined as universally requisite; 2d, those left to the discretion of the rulers of each church; 3d, those excluded as inconsistent with the gospel. Under the last head are included temporal sanctions to enforce spiritual laws, the use of sacrifices, altars, and temples, and a human priesthood. These things, according to Archbishop Whately, are expressly excluded from the Christian church by Christ himself, as inconsistent with the gospel.

"It is not a little remarkable, therefore,—though in other matters also experience shows the liability of men to maintain at once opposite errors,—that the very persons who are for restricting within the narrowest limits,—or rather, indeed, annulling altogether,—the natural right of a community to make and alter bye-laws in matters not determined by a superior authority, and who deny that any Church is at liberty to depart, even in matters left wholly undecided in Scripture, from the supposed,—or even conjectured—practice of the Apostles, these very persons are found advocating the introduction into Christianity of practices and institutions not only unauthorized, but plainly excluded, by its inspired promulgators;—such as Sacrifices and sacrificing Priests; thus, at once, denying the rights which do belong to a Christian Community, and asserting those which do not; at once fettering the Church by a supposed obligation to conform strictly to some supposed precedents of antiquity, and boldly casting off the obligation to adhere to the plainest injunctions of God's written Word. 'Full well do ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition.'"

Another thing excluded, according to our author, from the Christian system, is a Spiritual Head of the Church on earth. Another is the claim to apostolical power without the possession of miraculous gifts, the "signs of an apostle." A universal church, possessing authority over all the parts, and exercising that authority by means of general councils, he regards as an unscriptural figment. The meeting at Jerusalem recorded in the fifteenth of Acts, he treats as an assembly of the clergy of that church, to determine the question whether *that church* had sanctioned a certain doctrine.

The transaction at Antioch in the fourteenth of Acts he supposes to have been the ordination of Saul and Barnabas to the Apostleship by a body of elders. He argues that if there had been an earthly tribunal of final resort, Paul could not have failed to mention and appeal to it. Another argument adduced to prove that there was no Head of the Church, is the fact that the organization of the church was deferred until our Lord's departure. Had he publicly presided in bodily person over a church in Jerusalem or elsewhere, that church might more plausibly have laid claim to supremacy. "His previously withdrawing made it the more easily to be understood that he was to remain the Spiritual Head in Heaven of the spiritual church universal, and consequently of all particular churches equally in all parts of the world."

The importance of the points thus excluded from the system is not lessened by the indirect and negative form of the exclusion, since the positive doctrines of the gospel are, in some of the most important instances, laid down in an equally incidental manner.

To the principles thus stated are opposed the errors of those who regard no ordinances or government as obligatory, because minute directions are not given in the scripture; and of those who seek in scripture or tradition for specific sanctions to each church enactment, by which means all ecclesiastical institutions are removed from the firm foundation of a scriptural authority to make such regulations, to the sandy basis of conjecture or tradition. While the English reformers chose the true foundation, modern high-churchmen try to build upon the false.

"It is curious to observe how very common it is for any Sect or Party to assume a title indicative of the very excellence in which they are especially deficient, or strongly condemnatory of the very errors with which they are especially chargeable. Thus, those who from time to time have designated themselves 'Gnostics,' *i. e.* persons '*knowing*' the Gospel, in a far superior degree to other professed Christians,—have been generally remarkable for their *want* of knowledge of the very first rudiments of evangelical truth. The phrase 'Catholic' religion, (*i. e.* "Universal") is the most commonly in the mouths of those who are the most limited and *exclusive* in their views, and who seek to shut out the largest number of Christian communities from the Gospel-covenant. 'Schism,' again, is by none more loudly reprobated than by those who are not only the immediate authors of schism, but the advocates of principles tending to generate and perpetuate schisms without end. And 'Church-principles,'—'High-church principles,'—'Church-of-England principles,'—are the favorite terms of those who go the furthest in subverting all these. Obvious as this fallacy is, there is none more commonly successful in throwing men off their guard."

These pretended church-principles the archbishop re-

gards as fatal to the Christian hopes and privileges even of their advocates, because the Church of England and every other church have demonstrably departed from the primitive model as to certain points, for instance in the disuse of love-feasts, and deaconesses, and in the enlargement of diocesan authority.

"It seems plainly to have been at least the general, if not the universal practice of the Apostles, to appoint over each separate Church a single individual as a chief Governor under title of '*Angel*' (i. e. *Messenger* or *Legate* from the Apostles) or '*Bishop*,' i. e. *Superintendent* or *Overseer*. A Church and a Diocese seem to have been for a considerable time *co-extensive* and *identical*. And each Church or Diocese (and consequently each Superintendent) though connected with the rest by ties of Faith and Hope and Charity, seems to have been (as has been already observed) perfectly independent as far as regards any power of control.

"The plan pursued by the Apostles seems to have been, as has been above remarked, to establish a great number of small (in comparison with most modern Churches) distinct and independent Communities, each governed by its own single Bishop; consulting, no doubt, with his own Presbyteries, and accustomed to act in concurrence with them, and occasionally conferring with the Brethren in other Churches, but owing no submission to the rulers of any other Church, or to any central common authority except the Apostles themselves. And other points of difference might be added.

"Now to vindicate the institutions of our own, or of some other Church, on the Ground that they 'are not in themselves superstitious or ungodly,'—that they are not at variance with Gospel-principles, or with any divine injunction that was designed to be of universal obligation, is intelligible and reasonable. But to vindicate them on the ground of the exact conformity, which it is notorious they do not possess, to the most ancient models, and even to go beyond this, and condemn all Christians whose institutions and ordinances are not 'one and utterly like' our own, on the ground of their departure from the Apostolic precedents, which no Church has exactly adhered to,—does seem—to use no harsher expression,—not a little inconsistent and unreasonable. And yet one may not unfrequently hear members of Episcopalian Churches pronouncing severe condemnation on those of other Communions and even excluding them from the Christian Body, on the ground, not of their not being under the *best* form of Ecclesiastical Government,* but of their wanting the very essentials of a Christian Church; viz. the very same distinct Orders in Hierarchy that the Apostles appointed; and this, while the Episcopalians themselves have, universally, so far varied from the Apostolical institution as to have in one Church several *Bishops*; each of whom consequently differs in the office he holds, in a most important point, from one of the primitive Bishops as much as the Governor of any one of our Colonies does from a Sovereign Prince.

"Now whether the several alterations, and departures from the original institutions, were or were not, in each instance, made on good grounds, in accordance with an altered state of society, is a question which cannot even be en-

* "It is remarkable that there are *Presbyterians* also, who proceed on similar principles; who contend that originally the distinction between Bishops and Presbyteries did not exist; and consequently (not that *Episcopacy* is not essential to a Church; but) that Episcopal government is an *unwarrantable innovation*,—a usurpation—a profane departure from the divine ordinances!"

tertained by those who hold that no Church is competent to vary at all from the ancient model. Their principle would go to exclude at once from the pale of Christ's Church almost every Christian Body since the first two or three Centuries. The edifice they overthrow crushes in its fall the blind champion who has broken its pillars."

Again, the archbishop infers that the practice of the early churches is an argument inaccessible to the great mass of Christians, and doubtful even to the learned; that the pretended decisions of the universal church are not matters of authentic record; that the church is one, only in the same sense that the human race is one; that the sacred writers speak of *a church* just as the Greek historians speak of *the democracy*, meaning distinct societies formed on similar principles; that no Christian therefore is bound to submit to the decisions of the universal church, even if they could be ascertained; nay, that we should no more be bound to submit to the majority in such a case, against the judgment of our own particular church, "than we should be to pass a law for this realm, because it was approved by a majority of the human race." The awe inspired by appeals to this undefined authority is altogether groundless. There never was an universal church possessing authority over all the parts. Such appeals the archbishop looks upon as peculiarly reprehensible, when made not for self-vindication merely, but for the condemnation of others. His doctrine is, that any forms for public worship and for the ordaining of Christian ministers, which contain nothing that is in itself superstitious and contrary to God's word, are plainly binding by Christ's own sanction on the members of the church that appoints them. The argument sometimes drawn from the practice of the reformers in appealing to the fathers and the practice of the early church, is thus ingeniously disposed of.

"If any man is charged with introducing an *unscriptural novelty*, and he shows first that it is *scriptural*, and then (by reference to the opinions of those who lived long ago) that it is *no novelty*, it is most unreasonable to infer that Scripture authority would have no weight with him unless backed by the opinions of fallible men.

"No one would reason thus absurdly in any other case. For instance, when some Bill is brought into one of the Houses of Parliament, and it is represented by its opponents as of a *novel* and unheard of character, it is common, and natural, and allowable, for its advocates to cite instances of similar Acts formerly passed. Now, how absurd it would be thought for any one thence to infer that those who use such arguments must mean to imply that Parliament has no power to pass an Act unless it can be shown that similar Acts have been passed formerly!"

Reference to the writings or the practice of certain men is no proof that their authority is held to be decisive. After showing that the Anglican church does not blend tradition with scripture, and that such combination is more dangerous than appealing to tradition alone, the archbishop points out the inevitable consequences of interpreting scripture by tradition, which he illustrates by the instances of transubstantiation, priesthood, and the invocation of saints. The use and abuse of human teaching in subordination to the word of God, are illustrated as follows.

"The uses are so important, and the abuses so dangerous, of the instruction which may be afforded by uninspired Christian teachers, that it may be worth while still further to illustrate the subject by an analogy, homely perhaps and undignified, but which appears to me perfectly apposite, and fitted by its very familiarity to answer the better its purpose of affording explanation.

"The utility of what is called paper-currency is universally acknowledged and perceived. Without possessing any intrinsic value, it is a convenient representative of coins and ingots of the precious metals. And it possesses this character, from its being known or confidently believed, that those who issue it are ready, on demand, to exchange it for those precious metals. And the occurrence, from time to time, of this demand, and the constant liability to it, are the great *check* to an over-issue of the paper-money. But if paper-money be made a legal tender, and not convertible into gold and silver at the pleasure of the holder,—if persons are required to receive it in payment, by an arbitrary decree of the Government, either that paper *shall* be considered as having an intrinsic value, or again, that it shall be considered as representing bullion, or land,* or some other intrinsically valuable commodity, the existence and amount of which, and the ability of Government to produce it, are to be believed, not by the test of any one's demanding and obtaining payment, but *on the word of the very Government* that issues this incontrovertible paper-currency, then, the consequences which ensue are well known. The precious metals gradually disappear, and a profusion of worthless paper alone remains.

"Even so it is with human teaching in religion. It is highly useful, as long as the instructors refer the people to Scripture, exhorting and assisting them to 'prove all things and hold fast that which is right;'—as long as the Church 'ordains nothing contrary to God's word,'—nothing, in short beyond what a Christian Community is authorized both by the essential character of a Community, and by Christ's sanction, to enact; and requires nothing to be believed as a point of Christian faith 'that may not be declared'† (*i. e.* satisfactorily proved) to be taken from Holy Scripture. But when a Church, or any of its Pastors, ceases to make this payment on demand—if I may so speak—of Scripture-proof, and requires implicit faith, on human authority, in human dogmas or interpretations, all *check* is removed to the introduction of any conceivable amount of falsehood and superstition; till human inventions may have overlaid and disfigured Gospel-truth, and man's usurped authority have gradually superseded divine: even as was the case with the rabbinical Jews, who con-

* This was the case with the Assignats and Mandats of France.

† The word "declared" is likely to mislead the English reader, from its being ordinarily used in the present day in a different sense. The Latin "*declarare*," of which it was evidently intended to be a translation, signifies "to make clear"—"to set forth plainly."

tinued to profess the most devout reverence for the Mosaic Law, even at the time when we are told that 'in vain they worshipped God, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.'

Another ingenious illustration is the following, designed to show that the suppression of gospel truth, on what is called the system of reserve in teaching, may amount to direct falsification.

"It has been remarked that every statue existed in the block of marble from which it was carved; and that the Sculptor merely *discloses* it, by removing the superfluous portions; that the Medicean Venus, for instance, has not in it a single particle which did not originally exist exactly in the same relative position as now; the Artist having *added* nothing, but merely *taken away*. Yet the statue is as widely different a thing from the original block, as if something *had* been added. What should we think of a man's pleading that such an image is not contemplated in the commandment against *making* an image, because it is not 'made,' as if it had been moulded, or cast, out of materials *brought together* for the purpose? Should any one scruple to worship a moulded, but not a sculptured image, his scruple would not be more absurdly misplaced, than if he should hold himself bound, in his teaching, not to *add on* to Scripture any thing he did *not* believe to be true, but allowed to suppress any portions of Gospel-truth at his pleasure, and to exhibit to his People the remaining portions, as the whole system of their religion."

On the cardinal point of apostolical succession, the archbishop alleges that there is not a minister in all Christendom who is able to trace up with any approach to certainty his own spiritual pedigree; that during the dark ages informality was common; that even in later times, the probability of irregularity, though very greatly diminished, is yet diminished only, and not absolutely destroyed.

"Even in the memory of persons living, there existed a Bishop concerning whom there was so much mystery and uncertainty prevailing as to, when, where, and by whom, he had been ordained, that doubts existed in the mind of many persons whether he had ever been ordained at all. I do not say that there was good ground for the suspicion; but I speak of the fact, that it did prevail; and that the circumstances of the case were such as to make manifest the *possibility* of such an irregularity occurring under such circumstances.

"Now, let any one proceed on the hypothesis that there are, suppose, but a hundred links connecting any particular minister with the Apostles; and let him even suppose that not above half of this number pass through such periods as admit of any possible irregularity; and then, placing at the lowest estimate the probability of defectiveness in respect of each of the remaining fifty, taken separately, let him consider what amount of probability will result from the *multiplying* of the whole together. Supposing it to be one hundred to one, in each separate case, in favour of the legitimacy and regularity of the transmission, and the links to amount to fifty, (or any other number,) the probability of the unbroken continuity of the whole chain must be computed as 99-100 of 99-100 of 99-100, &c. to the end of the whole fifty."

The fallacy, according to our author, consists in confounding together the unbroken apostolic succession of a Chris-

tian ministry generally, and the same succession in an unbroken line of this or that individual minister. This doctrine, instead of tending to prevent or suppress schism, tends to breed it, as appears from the case of the Donatists, a schism which distracted the greater part of the oriental church for more than two hundred years upon the question whether a certain bishop had been regularly appointed; and from that of the non-jurors, who denied the episcopal character of those who had succeeded the displaced prelates, and would no doubt have produced a schism like that of the Donatists, but for a happy inconsistency in holding that the spurious bishops became genuine on the death of their predecessors. A similar attempt was made more recently, when certain Irish bishoprics were united with others, a measure looked upon by some as amounting to an interruption of the apostolical succession!

The archbishop then attacks an opposite error, and maintains that men have a right to organize a church, *de novo*, only in those circumstances which would justify a change of civil government, or the original formation of a state. Extraordinary emergencies justify what would otherwise be wrong. The general principle laid down is, that Christians are bound, when it is possible, to combine as a Christian society. It could not have been the Lord's will that men should exclude themselves from his church. If they have access to none, they are bound to form one, in which case their ministers, according to Archbishop Whately, "would rightly claim apostolical succession, because they would rightfully hold the same office which the Apostles conferred on those elders whom they ordained in every city."

"The Church, whatever it is, in which each man was originally enrolled a member, has the first claim to his allegiance, supposing there is nothing in its doctrines or practice which is unscriptural or wrong. He is of course bound in deference to the higher authority of Christ and the Apostles, to renounce its communion, if he does not feel such a conviction; but not from mere fancy, or worldly advantage. "All separation, in short, must be *either a duty, or a sin.*" It may be necessary perhaps here to remind the reader that I am speaking of *separating* from, and *renouncing*, some Church; not, of merely *joining* and becoming a member of some other. This latter does not imply the former, except when there is some *essential point of difference* between the two Churches. When there is none, a man's becoming a member of another church on changing his residence,—as for instance, a member of the Anglican church, on going to reside in Scotland or America, where churches essentially in agreement with ours exist—this is the very closest conformity to the principles and practice of the Apostles. In their days (and it would have been the same, always, and every where, had their principles been universally adhered to) a Christian of the church of Corinth, for instance, on taking up his abode, suppose, at

Ephesus, where there was a Christian church, differing perhaps in some non-essential customs and forms, but agreeing in essentials, was received into that church as a brother; and this was so far from implying his *separation* from the former, that he would be received into the Ephesian church only on recommendation from the Corinthian."

The archbishop then undertakes to show that the obligation to conform to the ordinances of any church is not dependent on the regularity of its original formation. It may indeed often be very desirable to attempt the re-union of Christian communities which had been separated on insufficient grounds; but no individual is justified in renouncing, from motives of mere taste or convenience, the communion of the church he belongs to, if he can remain in it with a safe conscience. He describes the circumstances under which men may and must secede from their own church; in which case, although they are bound, if possible, to secure a ministry in some orderly way, yet the impossibility of doing so is not only not to be imputed to them as a matter of blame, but by imposing the necessity creates the right and the duty of supplying their deficiencies as they best can. Persons so situated are in danger of two opposite errors; that of supposing that they have no right to exercise discretion, and that of imagining that whatever they have a right to do they would be right in doing; which he illustrates by the analogy of legislative bodies, who have constitutional rights which it would be absurd to exercise without discrimination. So as to the internal regulation of particular churches, to infer, that all possible determinations of certain questions would be equally wise and expedient, is a palpable absurdity. This the author illustrates by the case of those reformed churches which decry episcopacy as not only needless but unlawful, on the one hand, and of those which lament their want of it on the other. Both are, in his judgment, equally in error. The Reformers, he says, were perfectly at liberty to appoint Bishops, even if they had none that had joined in the Reformation, or to discontinue the appointment if they had, whichever they were convinced was the most conducive, under existing circumstances, to the great objects of all church government; and although they ought to have been greatly influenced by apostolical example, they had no reason to consider themselves bound to adhere always and everywhere to those original models. The prevalence of false views on this subject he ascribes in great degree to the influence of feeling and imagination, which are enlisted by the very vagueness

and uncertainty in which the false opinions are enveloped. Hence the awe felt for the supposed decisions of the Catholic church and of general Councils, for the sacramental character of ordination, and the mystical virtue of a Bishop's touch, for the sacerdotal power thus imparted, for the altar and the sacrifice in Christian worship, for the primitive doctrine attested by Catholic tradition, and the like; especially when treated of in solemn and imposing terms, with that kind of dazzling mistiness, which makes a thing at first view perfectly intelligible, but at every new examination more and more obscure. The clergy are, in the archbishop's judgment, under a peculiar temptation to adopt views which directly tend to exalt themselves, making the church a sort of appendage to the priesthood. The necessary consequence of such a theory is thus strongly stated.

"A people separated from their ministers by some incurable disagreement as to Christian doctrine, even supposing these last to have occasioned it by an utter apostacy from Gospel truth—would be left (supposing they could not obtain other ministers qualified by the same kind of transmission of Sacramental Virtue) totally and finally shut out from the pale of Christ's universal church, and from his "covenanted mercies;" while the ministers, on the contrary, though they might be prohibited by civil authority, or prevented by physical force, from exercising their functions within a particular district, would still, even though antichristian in doctrine and in life, retain their office and dignity unimpaired—the sacramental virtue conferred on them by ordination, and the consequent efficacy of their acts, undiminished.

"And this is not merely an inference fairly deducible from the principles of the system. I have even met with persons who acknowledged that, if a Bishop, of our own church for instance, who had been, for some crime, removed and degraded by regular process, should think proper afterwards to ordain men Priests or Deacons, though he and they would be legally punishable, still his ordinations would be valid, and these men consequently (however morally unfit) real clergy, capable of exercising the spiritual functions. This is to recognize a fearful power, and that, placed in the very worst hands, of producing and keeping up schism with something of an apparent divine sanction to give it strength. I need hardly remark that, according to the principles I have been endeavoring to maintain, a Bishop when removed from his Diocese, (whether for any crime or otherwise) and not appointed to any other, ceases altogether, *ipso facto*, to be a Bishop, and has no more power or right to ordain, or to exercise any other episcopal function than a layman; that is, till the same, or some other Christian church, shall think proper to receive him as a Bishop.

"On the same principle, the acts of a Presbyter, or Deacon, or other Minister, of any church cease to be valid, as soon as ever the Christian community in which he was appointed, withdraws its sanction from its acts. If another church think fit to receive him as a Minister, they have an undoubted right to do so; and he then becomes a Minister of that church. So he does also, when *not* expelled from the society to which he originally belonged, supposing the church to which he transfers himself *thinks fit to recognize* the ordinations of the other; which they may do, or refuse to do, entirely at their own discretion. This is a point which every church has a full right to determine according to its own judgment."

As to the question of lay baptism, and the validity of certain acts performed by certain persons, the archbishop thinks that much of the perplexity existing has arisen from confounding three distinct questions, no one of which is answered by answering the others, viz. : 1. What has a church the right to determine as to this point? 2. What is the wisest and best determination it can make? 3. What has this or that particular church actually determined?

The success of the traditional system is promoted also by the practice of discouraging all strict investigation, rebuking pride of intellect, and substituting undefined for definite belief. A common fallacy, our author thinks, is that of confounding clearness of evidence with a clear comprehension of the subject-matter. Our ideas of the nature of the soul are dark and limited; but the evidence on which we believe in its reality is perfect. So on the other hand, our conception of certain persons in history or fiction may be very clear and vivid, while the evidence of their ever having really existed may be shadowy, and utterly unsatisfactory. The apostles had confused and erroneous notions as to what Christ was to be; but they had clear and strong convictions that Jesus was the Christ. When false Christs afterwards arose, their pretensions were perfectly intelligible, and this being mistaken for sufficiency of evidence, many were thus deceived and ruined. The application of the principle is obvious. Men are constantly in danger of mistaking the intrinsic qualities of that which they desire to find true for evidence that it is true. The more disposed any one is to submissive veneration, the more important is it to direct that veneration to the proper objects, and to guard it against reverencing as divine what in reality is human; and the more important any question is, the greater is the need of strict investigation.

In the conclusion of his essay, the archbishop reverts to the abuse of terms, in reference to this subject, as for instance in the constant repetition of the word "apostolical" by those who most completely set at nought the principles laid down by the apostles; the perpetual invectives against "schism" by those who maintain principles, the very tendency of which is to generate and perpetuate that evil, and the constant appeal to "church-principles," by those who are in fact lowering the dignity and impairing the divine rights of the Church.

As the controversy now existing really turns upon the

question of apostolical succession, we shall conclude our extracts with the paragraph in which Archbishop Whately gives his judgment upon that point.

"Successors, in the Apostolic office, the Apostles have none. As witnesses of the *Resurrection*,—as *Dispensers* of miraculous gifts,—as inspired *Oracles* of divine *Revelation*,—they have no successors. But as *Members*,—as *Ministers*,—as *Governors*—of Christian Communities, their successors are the regularly-admitted Members,—the lawfully-ordained Ministers,—the regular and recognized Governors,—of a regularly-subsisting Christian Church; especially of a Church which conforming in fundamentals,—as I am persuaded ours does,—to Gospel principles, claims and exercises no rights beyond those which have the clear sanction of our great Master, as being essentially implied in the very character of a Community."

As our object in this article has not been to express our opinions on the subject, nor even to animadvert upon those of the author, but simply to record them, we have given the reader little more than an unskilful abstract or abridgment of the work before us, often using the archbishop's own words, even where we have not placed the sign of a quotation. We have said enough, we trust, to show a reason for the eagerness with which some have endeavored to depreciate the talents and the churchmanship of Dr. Whately. That he is bold and sometimes rash, must be admitted. That his style is often awkward and ungainly is no less true. But to question his originality or argumentative ability, would occur to no one but a partizan. Whoever is acquainted with his Rhetoric and Logic must be well aware that however great his faults may be, they cannot be imputed to deficiency of intellect. There is sometimes an apparent incoherence in his arguments, which, on reading further, will be found to have arisen from the very depth and compass of his logical design. Of one thing our readers may be well assured, that when they hear this or any other work of Whately set aside as empirical and superficial, they may safely attribute it to a sad want either of discrimination or of candour in the critic. From some of his opinions on church government we utterly dissent, for we are neither prelatists nor independents; but we laugh at the idea of decrying him as one who is unworthy of a hearing, and we certainly enjoy the opportunity of seeing how the words of an apostle can be treated by apostle-worshippers.

- ART. IV.—1. *The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice ; or a Defence of the Catholic Doctrine that Holy Scripture has been since the times of the Apostles the Sole Divine Rule of Faith and Practice, against the dangerous errors of the authors of the Tracts for the Times, and the Romanists, as, particularly that the Rule of Faith is "made up of Scripture and Tradition together ;" &c., in which also the doctrines of Apostolical Succession, the Eucharistic Sacrifice, &c., are fully discussed.* By William Goode, M. A., of Trinity College, Cambridge ; Rector of St. Antholin, London. Philadelphia : Herman Hooker. 1842. Two volumes pp. 494 and 604.
2. *A Treatise concerning the Right use of the Fathers in the Decision of Controversies in Religion.* By John Daille, Minister of the Gospel in the Reformed Church at Paris. Presbyterian Board of Publication. Philadelphia. 1842.
3. *Not Tradition, but Scripture.* By Philip N. Shuttleworth, D. D. Warden of New College, Oxford, (late Bishop of Chichester). First American from the third London edition. Philadelphia : Hooker and Agnew. 1841. pp. 125.
4. *The Authority of Tradition in Matters of Religion.* By George Holden, M. A. Philadelphia : Hooker and Agnew. 1841. pp. 128.
5. *Tradition Unveiled.* By Baden Powell, of Oriel College, Oxford. Hooker and Agnew. 1841.

THE recent publication in England of so many works on Tradition, indicates a new and extended interest in the subject ; and their republication in America, shows that the interest is as great here as it is in England. It is not difficult to account for this. The rapid increase of Romanism in some parts of the world ; the revival of zeal and confidence among the Papists ; and the advocacy of the leading principles of the church of Rome by the Oxford Tracts, have rendered this and kindred points the prominent subjects of religious discussion in Great Britain, and consequently, to a great extent in this country. We question whether at any period since the Reformation, or, at least, since the days of Archbishop Laud and the non-jurors, the public mind has been as much turned to these subjects as it is at present. This is no doubt principally owing to the publication of the

Oxford Tracts. It is enough to arouse a Protestant community, to hear the Reformation denounced as a schism; Protestantism decried as anti-Christian, and all the most dangerous errors of Romanism espoused and defended by members of the leading Protestant university of Europe. It is no wonder that this movement excites the joy of Papists, and the indignation of Protestants. It is no wonder that the press teems with answers to the artful and subtle effusions of men, who though sustained by a Protestant church, direct all their energies to obliterate her distinctive character and to undermine her doctrines. The wonder rather is that men, professing godliness, can pursue a course so obviously unfair; or that they are allowed to retain the stations which give them support and influence.

It is certainly time, when not only the Romanists are redoubling their efforts for the extension of their errors; but when they find their most efficient allies in our own camp, that Protestants should rouse themselves to a sense of their danger, and renew their protest against the false doctrines of Rome, and their testimony in behalf of the truth of God. It is conceded that the turning point in these controversies, is the Rule of Faith. Are the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments the only infallible rule of faith and practice? if so, Romanism and Puseyism, are confessedly without any adequate foundation. We say confessedly, first because their advocates admit that the whole controversy turns upon the authority due to tradition; and secondly, because in enumerating the doctrines which tradition is necessary to prove, they include the very doctrines by which they are distinguished from Protestants. "The complete rule of faith," says a distinguished Romanist, "is scripture joined with tradition, which if Protestants would admit, all the other controversies between us and them would soon cease."* "It may be proved," says Mr. Keble, "to the satisfaction of any reasonable mind, that not a few fragments yet remain,—very precious and sacred fragments of the unwritten teaching of the first age of the church. The paramount authority for example of the successors of the apostles in church government; the three fold-order established from the beginning; the virtue of the blessed eucharist as a commemorative sacrifice; infant baptism, and above all, the Catholic doctrine of the most Holy Trinity, as con-

* See Goode, vol. i. p. 90.

tained in the Nicene creed. All these, however surely confirmed from scripture, are yet ascertainable parts of the primitive unwritten system of which we enjoy the benefit.”* “Without its aid [i. e. of primitive tradition] humanly speaking, I do not see how we could now retain either real inward communion with our Lord through his apostles, or the very outward face of God’s church and kingdom among us. Not to dwell on disputable cases, how but by the tradition and the practice of the early church can we demonstrate the observance of Sunday as the holiest day, or the permanent separation of the clergy from the people as a distinct order? Or where, except in the primitive liturgies, a main branch of that tradition, can we find assurance, that in the Holy Eucharist, we consecrate as the apostles did, and consequently that the cup of blessing which we bless is the communion of the blood of Christ, and the bread which we break in the communion of the body of Christ.”† This, in the language of the sect, means, How but by tradition can we establish the doctrine of the real presence? Again the same writer says, “The points of Catholic consent, known by tradition, constitute the knots and ties of the whole system; being such as these: the canon of scripture, the full doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, the oblation and consecration of the eucharist, the apostolical succession.” To these he afterwards adds, “baptismal regeneration,” and the doctrine “that consecration by apostolical authority is essential to the participation of the eucharist.”

After quoting these and many other passages from Mr. Keble’s sermon and from other writings of the Tractarians, Mr. Goode thus enumerates and classifies the doctrines, which according to their system depend on tradition alone, or upon scripture as explained by tradition. “Relating to points disused, 1. The non-literal acceptance of our Lord’s words respecting washing one another’s feet. 2. The non-observance of the seventh day as a day of religious rest.

“Relating to ordinances in use among us, 1. Infant baptism. 2. The sanctification of the first day of the week. 3. The perpetual obligation of the eucharist. 4. The identity of our mode of consecration in the eucharist with the apostolical. 5. That consecration by apostolical authority is essential to the participation of the eucharist. 6. The separation of the clergy from the people as a distinct order. 7.

* Keble Sermon on Tradition, p. 32. † *Ib.* p. 38.

The three-fold order of the priesthood. 8. The government of the church by bishops. 9. The apostolical succession.

"Of points purely doctrinal, 1. Baptismal regeneration. 2. The virtue of the eucharist as a commemorative sacrifice. 3. That there is an intermediate state, in which the souls of the faithful are purified, and grow in grace; that they pray for us, and that our prayers benefit them.

"Of points concerning matters of fact, and things that do not immediately belong either to the doctrines or the rites of Christianity, 1. The canon of the scripture. 2. That Melchizedek's feast is a type of the eucharist. 3. That the book of Canticles represents the union between Christ and his church. 4. That wisdom, in the book of Proverbs refers to the Second Person of the Trinity. 5. The alleged perpetual virginity of the mother of our Lord."

"It is impossible," says Mr. Goode, "not to see that, among all these points the stress is laid upon those which concern the government and sacraments of the church; and our opponents being persuaded that patristical tradition delivers their system on these points . . . are very anxious that this tradition should be recognised as a divine informant; and in the zealous prosecution of this enterprize, are desirous further of impressing it upon our minds, that almost all the other points relating either to doctrine or practice, yea even the fundamentals of the faith, must stand or fall according as this recognition takes place or not."* This is true. The writers of the Tracts, knowing and admitting, that their peculiar doctrines, that is, doctrines which they hold in common with the Romanists, and which distinguished both from Protestants, cannot be proved except by tradition, are led to assert not only that the doctrines peculiar to Episcopalians, but even some of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel rest on the same unstable foundation. If we understand the fundamental principles of Romanism and of the Oxford Tracts they are the following. The sacraments are the only ordinary channels of communicating the grace of the Holy Spirit and the benefits of Christ's merits; that participation of these sacraments is therefore the great means of salvation; that the sacraments have this efficacy only when administered by duly ordained ministers, (except that the Papists admit the validity of lay baptism in

* Goode, vol. ii. p. 18.

cases of necessity); that ordination confers the Holy Spirit and imparts the power and authority to consecrate the bread and wine in the eucharist so that they become the body and blood of Christ, and when offered, are a propitiatory sacrifice effectual for the remission of the sins of the living and the dead; and that the right to ordain and the power to confer the Holy Spirit belongs exclusively to prelatical bishops as the successors of the apostles. These, as it seems to us, are the bones, or as Mr. Keble would say, the knots and ties of the whole system. This is the foundation of the whole fabric of Papal and priestly domination and delusion. Bishops are the successors of the apostles "in all the plenitude of their power;" "what Christ was in his own house, such now are they. The authority which he possessed in his human nature, he transfers to them;"* they alone have the right to confer the authority and power to administer the sacraments which are the appointed channels of grace; hence they are the dispensers of salvation; those whom they excommunicate, justly or unjustly, perish; those whom they receive and retain in communion of the church are saved. Every thing depends on them. They are in the place of Christ. That such a system should find favour with the clergy, human nature would lead us to expect; and that it should be adopted by the people, experience teaches us not to be surprised at. It is the easiest of all methods of salvation; the least self-denying, the most agreeable to the indolent and depraved heart. But as it is contrary to the word of God, men adopt it at their peril; and its very attractiveness is a reason why its falsehood and its dangerous tendency should be exposed.

As the advocates of this system urge its acceptance on the ground of tradition, it is not surprising that so large a portion of the works written against the system, are directed against tradition as a rule of faith. All the books mentioned at the head of this article, with one exception, are the productions of clergymen of the church of England, and were written in answer to the Oxford Tracts. The work of Daille on the Use of the Fathers, is an old book, which has retained its place as a standard for nearly two centuries, and is the store house whence modern writers draw not a few of their arguments and illustrations. Its publication by our Board in an improved form, thus rendering it easily

* *Mason's Tract on Catholic Unity*, p. 10.

accessible at a cheap rate, is an important service to the church, and we heartily recommend it to the careful study of our fellow ministers. The works of the bishop of Chester, of Professor Powell, and of Mr. Holden have been already noticed in our pages, and are here mentioned again only with a view of renewing our recommendation to our readers to sustain the publisher in his laudable enterprize to disseminate such reasonable books.

Mr. Goode's book, which is dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, is devoted to the refutation of the Oxford Tracts. It gives at length the doctrine on tradition taught in those writings; proves that it is identical with the Popish doctrine on the same subject; demonstrates that patristical tradition is not "a practically infallible witness of the oral teaching of the apostles, nor receivable as a divine informant;" he vindicates the claim of holy scripture as the sole divinely-revealed rule of faith and practice, and sole infallible judge of controversies, and consequently in the credenda of religion the sole authority which binds the conscience to belief in what it delivers. He vindicates the fulness and sufficiency of the divine revelation as contained in the scriptures, and in doing this examines at length the doctrines which the Tractarians affirm tradition is necessary to establish. He then shows that his doctrine on this whole subject is the doctrine of the fathers themselves, as well as that of the church of England. He pronounces the appeal made by the Tractators in their *Catena Patrum*, to the opinions of the English divines in support of their doctrines, "one of the most unaccountable, and painful, and culpable (however unintentional) misrepresentations with which history supplies us." He convicts them of the grossest unfairness in quoting in support of their views distorted fragments of works written in direct and avowed opposition to them. He accuses them of borrowing not merely their arguments, but in a great degree their learning at second hand from the Romanists; and brings forward cases of egregious blunders in their quotations from the fathers. He shows that the famous tract No. 90, designed to show that the thirty-nine articles are consistent with the Tridentine decrees, is little else than the reproduction of a work written by a Jesuit more than two centuries ago.*

* The title of this work is, "*Deus, natura, gratia, sive, Tractatus de Predestinatione, de meritis, et peccatorum remissione, seu de justificatione et denique de*"

The theory of the traditionists is, that the holy scriptures are both defective and obscure. They contain, indeed, all the essential doctrines of the gospel, but they give, in many cases, mere hints or notices of them, which could not be understood unless explained and developed by tradition. "It is a near thing," says tract 85, "that they are in scripture at all; the wonder is that they are all there; humanly judging, they would not be there but for God's interposition; and therefore since they are there by a sort of accident, it is not strange they should be but latent there, and only indirectly producible thence." The same writer says, the gospel doctrine "is but indirectly and covertly recorded in scripture under the surface." But besides these doctrines which are essential to salvation, there are others which are highly important which are not in the scriptures at all, which we are bound to believe. These doctrines we must learn from tradition; it is, therefore, "partly the interpretation, partly the supplement of scripture."[†]

The authority due to tradition is the same as that which belongs to the written word of God. In the language of the Council of Trent, "*Traditiones non scriptas pari pietatis affectu, et reverentia cum scriptura esse recipiendas.*" So Mr. Keble says, that consentient patristical tradition is "God's unwritten word, demanding the same reverence from us." Dr. Pusey says, "we owe faith to the decisions of the church universal." "Our controversy with Rome," he says, "is not on a priori question on the value of tradition in itself, or at an earlier period of the church, or of such traditions as, though not contained in scripture, are primitive, universal, and apostolical, but it is one purely historical, that the Romanist traditions not being such, but on the contrary repugnant to scripture, are not to be received."

The ground on which this authority is ascribed to tradition is, that it is a practically infallible informant of the oral instructions of Christ and his apostles. "Let us understand," says Mr. Newman, "what is meant by saying that antiqui-

sanctorum invocatione. Ubi ad trutinam fidei Catholice examinatur confessio Anglicana, &c. Accessit paraphrastica expositio reliquorum articulorum confessionis Anglicae." It was written by an English convert to Popery, named Christopher Davenport, and after his conversion called Francis a Sancta Clara, and designed to prove the English articles to be conformable to the Tridentine doctrines. "And for learning and ingenuity our modern reconciler," says Mr. Goode "is not to be compared to him. But in all the most important points, the similarity between the two is remarkable."

[†] Newman's Lectures, p. 298.

ty is of authority in religious questions. Both Romanists and ourselves maintain as follows: that whatever doctrine the primitive ages unanimously attest, whether by consent of fathers, or by councils, or by the events of history, or by controversies, or in whatever way, whatever may fairly and reasonably be considered the universal belief of those ages, is to be received as coming from the apostles." This is the ground commonly taken both by Romanists and the Oxford writers. Certain doctrines are to be received not on the authority of the fathers, but upon their testimony that those doctrines were taught by the apostles. Both however rely more or less on the gift of the Holy Spirit communicated by the imposition of hands, who guides the representative church into the knowledge of the truth, and renders it infallible. "Not only" says Mr. Newman, "is the church catholic bound to teach the truth, but she is ever divinely guided to teach it; her witness of the Christian faith is a matter of promise as well as of duty; her discernment of it is secured by a heavenly as well as a human rule. She is indefectible in it, and therefore not only has authority to enforce it, but is of authority in declaring it. The church not only transmits the faith by human means, but has a supernatural gift for that purpose; that doctrine which is true, considered as an historical fact, is true also because she teaches it."* Hence he says, "That when the sense of scripture as interpreted by reason, is contrary to the sense given to it by Catholic antiquity, we ought to side with the latter." Page 160.

Such being the high office of tradition, it is a matter of great moment to decide how we are to ascertain what tradition teaches. The common answer to this question is, Catholic consent; whatever has been believed always, every where, and by all, must be received as derived from the apostles.

Such then is the theory. The scriptures are obscure and defective. They contain only covertly and under the surface even, some of the essential doctrines of the gospel, and some important doctrines they do not contain at all. The oral teaching of the apostles was sufficient to explain these obscurities and to supply these defects, and was of course of equal authority with their written instructions. This oral teaching has been handed down to us by the church catholic, which is a divinely appointed and divinely guided

* Lectures on Romanism, &c., p. 225.

witness of the truth. To her decisions therefore we owe faith. And as every particular church may err, our security is in adhering to the church universal, which is practically infallible.

It rarely if ever happens that any theory on any subject gains credence among any number of competent men, which has not a great deal of truth in it. And of the two great causes of the long continued and extensive prevalence of faith in tradition as a divine informant, one no doubt is, that there is so much truth in the theory as above propounded, and the other is, that men find tradition to teach what they are anxious to believe. The principal elements of truth in the above theory, are first, that the testimony of God is the only adequate foundation of faith in matters of religion; second, that as much confidence is due to the oral teachings of the apostles as to their written instructions; and third, that the fact that all true Christians in every age have believed any doctrine, admits of no other satisfactory solution, than that such doctrine was derived from the apostles.

The application of these principles and the arguments founded upon them by the traditionists, are, however, full of fallacy and unfairness. They speak of the church catholic being, in virtue of the promise of God, indefectible, and practically infallible, as far as concerns fundamental truth. This every one will admit, if you take the word church in its scriptural sense. The church is the body of true believers; the company of faithful men. That this company cannot err in essential doctrines; that is, that all true Christians will, by the grace of God, ever believe all that is essential to their salvation, we have no disposition to dispute. And moreover, that the promise of our Lord secures the continued existence of his church, or in other words, a continued succession of true believers, we also readily admit. And we are consequently ready to acknowledge that if you can ascertain what this church (i. e. true Christians,) has ever, every where, and universally believed, you have a practically infallible rule, for determining as far as fundamentals are concerned, what is the true faith. But of what avail is all this? How are you to ascertain the faith of all true believers in every age and in every part of the world? They have never formed a distinct, visible society, even in any one age or place, much less in all ages and places. They are scattered here and there in all visible churches, known and numbered by no eye but his who searches the

heart. You might as well attempt to collect the suffrages of all the amiable men who have ever lived, as to gather the testimony of all the people of God to any one doctrine. And if it could be done what would it amount to? You would find they agreed in receiving the doctrines which lie on the very face of scripture, and in nothing else. You would find that the plain testimony of God had been universally understood and received by his people. This would not be a source of new information, though it might be a consolation, and a confirmation of our faith.

The first fallacy and unfairness of traditionists then is, confounding the true church, or the company of faithful men, with the external and visible church. As it is an acknowledged impossibility to ascertain the opinions of the sincere people of God, they appeal to the promiscuous mass of professing Christians organized in different societies in various parts of the world. This proceeding is obviously fallacious and unfair. There is no promise of God, securing any or every external church from apostacy, even as to fundamental truth. As far as we know, every external organization connected with the Jewish church had apostatized in the days of Ahab; the seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal, were hid even from the sight of Elias. During the prevalence of the Arian heresy, the great majority of the churches had departed from the faith; Popes and councils decided in favor of Pelagianism, and in the ages before the Reformation if the voice of the external church, or the mass of professing Christians is to be taken as the voice of the true people of God, and a practical and infallible witness of the truth, we shall have the Bible completely superceded, and the whole mass of Popish error and superstition firmly established. The rule of the traditionists, therefore, which is true in relation to "the faith of God's elect," is as false and fallacious as possible in its application to the external church.

But besides this, the voice of all professing Christians, every where and at all times, it is impossible to ascertain. And if it could be ascertained, the points of agreement would not include one half of the doctrines admitted to be fundamental. It is notorious that neither the doctrines of the Trinity, nor of the atonement, nor of regeneration, has been received every where, always, and by all; much less have all so far agreed in their explanations of these doctrines as to retain what all admit to be essential to their

integrity. To meet the former of these difficulties, that is, to obviate the difficulty arising from the impossibility of gathering the faith of the whole visible church, traditionists insist that we are bound to take the testimony of the pastors or rulers of the church. But in the first place, the pastors are not the church, and the promises given to the church were consequently not given to them. The declaration that the church shall never perish, does not mean that the great body of its pastors shall never become unfaithful. Again, though the number of pastors is so much less than that of the whole church, the impossibility of gathering their united testimony to any one truth is not less clear and decided. This cannot be done in any one age, much less in all ages and places. Who can gather the opinions of all the present ministers of the church of England? Their public creed does not express their opinions, for they differ fundamentally in their explanation of that creed. Some are virtually Romanists; some are Pelagians; some are Calvinists; some we know have been Socinians. Mr. Newman tells us, "In the English church, we shall hardly find ten or twenty neighbouring clergymen who agree together; and that, not in non-essentials of religion, but as to what are its elementary and necessary doctrines; or as to the fact whether there are any necessary doctrines at all, any distinct and definite faith required for salvation."* And on the same page, speaking of the laity, he says, "If they go to one church they hear one doctrine, in the next that comes, they hear another; if they try to unite the two, they are obliged to drop important elements in each, and waste down and attenuate the faith to a mere shadow." The leading modern advocate of tradition therefore assures us that we cannot gather the faith of the English clergy, even as "to elementary and necessary doctrines" from their public creeds; that they do not in fact agree, and that it is impossible to find out what they believe. All this is said of a church with which we are contemporary; in an age of printing, of speaking, of assemblies, and of every other means of intercommunion and publication of opinions; an age of censuses and statistics, when the colour of every man's eyes may almost be ascertained and published to the world. And yet this same man would have us believe that he can tell what all pastors, every where be-

* Lectures, p. 395.

lieved, seventeen centuries ago, not in one church, but in all churches! If the creed of the church of England does not express the faith of the English clergy, how are we to know that the creeds of the ancient church expressed the faith of the clergy of the early centuries? The difficulty is greatly increased by the consideration, that there was no one creed which all the clergy were then obliged to adopt and subscribe as at the present day. What is now called the apostles creed, was only the creed of the church of Rome, and did not assume its present form before the fourth century. Irenaeus, Tertullian and Origen have left formulas of doctrine for which they claim the consent of all the churches, but even these afford very imperfect evidence of the consent of all the pastors. In the first place, the testimony of a few men as to what all other men believe, is of no decisive weight. Let Dr. Pusey, or Mr. Newman, state the faith of the English church, and it will be one thing; let the Bishop of Chester state it, and it will be quite a different thing. In the second place, these creeds contain some things which are incorrect, and in all probability the faith of a very small part of the existing church. Thus Origen says the whole church believed, that the scriptures "have not only a sense which is apparent, but also another which is concealed from most. For those things which are described are the outlines of certain mysteries and the images of divine things." He says, it is not clearly discerned whether the Holy Spirit is to be considered "as begotten or not," or as Jerome says the words were, "made or not made." Origen himself, believed him to be a creature. Tertullian's exposition of the Trinity, if understood according to his own sense of the terms, is as little orthodox as that of Origen. Here then the very earliest creeds now extant, for which the faith of all churches was claimed, are yet infected with acknowledged error. They did not and could not represent the faith of all the pastors of the age of their authors, much less the faith of all who had preceded them.

But suppose we should admit that the early creeds ought to be taken as expressing the sense of the whole ancient church, what should we gain by it? They contain nothing beyond the simplest doctrines of the scripture, and that in such general terms as decide nothing against Arianism, Pelagianism, and various other forms of error. They have no relation to the points in dispute between Papists and Pro-

testants, or between Oxford and the English Reformers. They yield no support to the baptismal regeneration, the sacrifice of the mass, or episcopal grace. As far as the creeds are concerned they are an insufficient and uncertain evidence of catholic consent; and if admitted decide nothing as to any one of the questions between Protestants and traditionists.

Appeal however is made to the decisions of councils. These bodies, called together by public authority and representing all parts of the church, are regarded as bearing trust-worthy testimony as to the Catholic faith. But to this argument it has been fairly objected that the church catholic does not admit of being represented. The delegates from the several provinces can at best represent only the majorities in the bodies deputing them. The minorities whether large or small must be unrepresented. Experience teaches us that truth is not always with the many. What would have been the fate of orthodoxy had it been put to the vote under Constantius or Valens? What would have become of Protestantism, had all churches sent delegates to Trent, and the cause of God been confided to the decision of the urn? Our objection, however, now is, that no general council can so represent the church as to give us satisfactory evidence of the faith of all its members. Another objection is that the councils called general are not deserving of the name. They have in no case been either a full or fair representation of the existing church. Take that of Nice for example. We should be glad to believe that Christendom was, as to the main point, there fully represented. But what are the facts. There were present at that council about three hundred and eighteen bishops; of these seventeen were from the little province of Isauria; while there was but one from all Africa, but one from Spain, and but one from Gaul. Is it not absurd to say that one bishop could represent the faith of a whole province, and that one acting without authority and without delegation? Suppose the attempt to be now made to hold a general council, and an invitation to be issued to all bishops and presbyteries to assemble at a given time and place. Suppose further that Mr. Newman should attend from England, bishop Hughes from America, the Abbe Genoude from France, could the assent of these volunteer delegates, with any show of reason, be taken as proving what was the faith of the church of England, or of the church of God in these United States?

Yet this was the way in which councils were generally called. The reigning emperor issued his summons, and those who had the inclination or ability, attended; those who were disinclined to the object of the council, or unable to travel, remained at home. It is obvious that such councils could not give a fair expression to the voice of the church. It may be said indeed that however imperfect the representation, the acquiescence of all parts of the church in their decisions, affords proof of unanimity of faith. There would be some force in this suggestion, had we any evidence of such acquiescence. We know however that decisions in councils were in almost all important cases more or less resisted; and the struggle continued until one party or the other obtained the advantage, and then, by excommunicating the dissentients, the voice of the whole church was claimed for the majority. This has been the course of Rome from the beginning. Refusing to recognise as a part of the church all who do not adhere to her, she boasts of having the suffrage of the whole church in her favour.

A still more decisive proof that councils cannot be relied upon as expressing the faith of the whole church, is that they contradict each other. The council of Nice decided against Arianism; a much larger council within twenty-five years, decided in its favour.* The church was thrown into a state of violent contention. At one period or in one part of the empire the orthodox prevail; in others, the Arians. Each party had their councils; each at different times could claim the majority of the whole church; one bishop of Rome was with the orthodox, another with the Arians, and thus the conflict was continued with various success for more than three hundred years. How then can catholic consent be claimed for the Nicene creed? If catholic consent means the consent of all, everywhere, and at all times, it is a gross imposition and absurdity to claim it for a creed with regard to which for a long time Christendom was nearly equally divided.

The heresy of Eutyches, respecting the person of Christ, was first condemned by a council held at Constantinople,

* The council which met for the western church at Ariminum and for the eastern at Seleucia, "which," says Bishop Stillingfleet, "make up the most general council we read of in church history. For Bellarmine owns that there were six hundred bishops in the western part of it. So that there were many more bishops assembled there than were in the councils of Nice; there was no exception against the summons nor against the bishops present."

A. D. 448; then approved by the second general council at Ephesus, in 449; and then again condemned by the council of Chalcedon, in 451. Pelagianism was condemned in Africa, sanctioned in Palestine, approved by the council of Diospolis, pronounced to be according to scripture, in the first instance, by the bishop of Rome, afterwards repudiated by the same bishop, and finally condemned by the council of Ephesus, A. D. 431. Even with regard to the canon of scripture we have council against council; that of Laodicea excluding the apocrypha, that of Carthage including them in the list of inspired books. It is therefore a plain historical fact, that even those councils, which have most deserved the name of general, have not agreed, and therefore can neither be regarded as infallible, nor as any conclusive evidence of catholic consent.

There is another objection to the notion that the faith of the church universal can be gathered from the decisions of councils, which ought not to be overlooked. The authority of tradition is, both by Romanists and the writers of the Oxford Tracts, defended mainly on the ground of its apostolic origin. The fact that all Christians have received any doctrine is held to be proof that it was derived from the apostles; and to ascertain what all the early Christians believed, we are referred to the decisions of the ancient general councils. But unfortunately, there was no council having the least pretension to be called general, held during the first three centuries. How is this chasm to be got over? We can understand how an assembly even at the present day, with the scriptures before them, can give a judgment as to the doctrines of Christianity, which shall be entitled to all the deference due to their opinion. But since the world began has any such thing been known as the transmission of unwritten doctrines unchanged for three hundred years? Without a miracle, for which we have neither promise nor evidence, the thing is impossible. Would it be possible for the present clergy of Germany to bear trust-worthy testimony to the unwritten teaching of Luther and Melancthon? Does there exist now in England any knowledge of the doctrines of the Reformers, not to be gathered from their writings? Would not the claim of an English convocation to enforce any doctrine, not contained in their Articles, Liturgy, or Homilies, on the ground of traditionary knowledge of the oral teaching of Cranmer or Latimer, be received with ridicule by the whole church? How then can we

believe that the council of Nice had any tradition or knowledge of the oral teaching of the apostles worthy of confidence? If a tradition cannot be traced up historically to the times of the apostles, it can, on the very principles, though not according to the practice, of our opponents, be of no authority. The prevalence of an opinion in the church three hundred years after the apostles, is no proof that it was derived from the apostles, any more than the prevalence of Arminianism in the church of England, or of Rationalism in Germany, proves that these forms of error were derived from the Reformers. It is therefore not from the decisions of councils that we can gather catholic consent.

The only other important source of knowledge of the faith of the early church, is the writings of the fathers. It has been assumed that the consent or agreement of the early Christian writers in the belief of any doctrine, is to be considered satisfactory evidence of the derivation of such doctrine or usage from the apostles. Traditionists have generally felt the necessity of some caution in laying down this rule. [It is so obvious that the fathers differ among themselves, and that the same father differs in many cases from himself, that we are cautioned carefully to distinguish between what they deliver as teachers, which is often erroneous, from what they delivered as witnesses. It is necessary that we should have not only their unanimous consent, but also their unanimous testimony that the doctrine taught is part of the faith of the church. We do not say that traditionists adhere to these limitations, for they do not, but they feel the necessity of stating them to secure even the semblance of authority for their rule.

The question then is, whether the unanimous consent of the fathers is proof of the apostolic origin of any doctrine? This question as far as it has any bearing on the present controversy, must be understood of doctrines, not clearly contained in the scriptures. Their unanimous consent to the being of a God, to the divine mission of Christ, to the fact that he was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; that he rose again on the third day and ascended into heaven, cannot be considered as in any degree increasing our assurance that these doctrines and facts are contained in the New Testament. It is not for such purposes that their testimony is required. But is their consent a warrant to us of the oral teaching of the apostles? Must we believe what they hap-

pen to agree in believing? We think this a most unreasonable demand, for, in the first place, the consent of some sixteen writers, is very insufficient evidence of the faith of the whole Christian church for three hundred years, and it is only as witnesses for catholic consent that their writings are assumed to be of any authority. The fact that the remains of the first three centuries are so scanty, creates of itself almost an impossibility that we should find in them any fair or full representation of the whole church during that long period. Would any man dream of extracting from some ten or twenty works, many of them mere fragments, taken at hazard from the whole list of English divines, any knowledge of the doctrines of the English Reformers, which is not to be found in their authentic writings? Would it not be considered in the highest degree absurd, to maintain that the interpretation of the thirty-nine articles, must be regulated by the consent of these fragments? Suppose all these remains of English theology were of one school, say the Laudean, what view should we then be forced to take of the English articles? Or suppose that some were of the school of Whitgift, some of that of Laud, and some of that of Hoadly, contradicting each other on almost all points, each accusing the others of departure from the faith of the church, would it not be a perfectly hopeless task, to attempt to gather from their conflicting statements, the meaning of the articles? Yet this, and even worse than this, is the rule of faith which traditionists would impose upon the church. We say worse, for the supposed fragments of English writers, would at least be all genuine, in a language we understand, relating to controversies with which we are familiar. The remains of the first centuries have no one of these advantages. They are confessedly more or less mutilated and corrupted. It is really a matter of surprise to read the frequent and loud complaints made by the fathers of the frauds to which they were subjected. Spurious writings were issued on all occasions; the writings of distinguished men curtailed or interpolated to serve the purposes of a party. We hear not only of the gospel of St. Thomas, of the epistle to the Laodiceans, of the acts of Paul and Thecla, but complaints are made of the name of one father being put to the writings of another to give them currency. This is a difficulty and an evil which Romanists themselves are forced to admit. On

this point Mr. Goode remarks, "Above one hundred and eighty treatises, professing to be written by authors of the first six centuries, are repudiated by the more learned of the Romanists themselves, as, most of them rank forgeries, and the others not written by those whose names they bear; though, be it observed, they have been quoted over and over again by celebrated controversial writers of the Romish communion, in support of their errors against Protestants." An evil still greater than forgery, because more difficult to detect, is interpolation. Many of the early Greek works are extant only in a latin translation, which is so corrupt as to be unworthy of credit. This is the case with the work of Irenaeus, and with the translations by Ruffinus, whom Jerome charges with the most shameless adulteration of his authors. This is a subject which cannot be treated without going into details which our limits forbid. It is however a notorious fact that the remains of the early ages have come down to us in a most corrupted state, and that it is a task of great difficulty, if not of absolute impossibility to separate what is genuine from what is spurious. What a rule of faith is here!

But besides this difficulty, the writings of the fathers are on various accounts hard to be understood; not only because of the language on which they are written, but from the principles on which their authors proceeded. They relate also in a great degree to controversies with which we have no immediate concern, being directed against Paganism, or obsolete heresies. These are the writings which are to remove the obscurities of scripture, and supply its deficiencies. We might as well take the waters of the Thames, after it has traversed all London, to purify the limpid river at its source.

Besides all this, the fathers are not trustworthy, as witnesses of the faith of the early church. They are too credulous. This is proved by the fact, that they claim the support of tradition for acknowledged error or for opposing doctrines. Some say they derived it from the successors of the apostles, that our Lord was fifty years old at the time of his death; others, on the same authority, assure us that his ministry continued but for one year; Origen, as we have seen, claims the tradition of all the churches in support of the allegorical sense of the historical parts of scripture; he says tradition leaves it doubtful whether the sun, moon and stars have souls or not. Papias, who flourished

about ninety years after Christ, says, "As the elders remember, who saw John the disciple of the Lord, that they heard from him what the Lord taught about those times, and said, The days shall come in which vines shall exist, each containing 10,000 shoots, and in each shoot shall be 10,000 arms, and in each true shoot shall be 10,000 branches, and on every branch 10,000 clusters, and in every cluster 10,000 grapes, and every grape, when pressed, shall give 25 firkins of wine," &c. &c. &c. This account is endorsed by Irenaeus, who quotes Papias "as a hearer and companion of Polycarp." The eastern churches affirmed that the observance of Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon, had been delivered to them by the apostle John; the Romans and those in the western parts said that their usage was delivered by the apostles Peter and Paul. Cyprian insisted that those who had been baptized by heretics and schismatics, should be rebaptized, and appeals to the catholic faith and church in his support. Stephen, the bishop of Rome, said, "The apostles forbade that those who came over from any heresy should be baptized, and delivered this to posterity to be observed." Augustin says, it is the "Catholic faith," that all unbaptized infants are lost, though he is suspected of being himself the father of the doctrine. Many claim the authority of the church for the notion that the angels have bodies. Some say that tradition taught that all souls are immediately created, others that they are derived, *ex traduce*. So in all their disputes, each party appealed to tradition in its own behalf, and condemn all others. The heretics, especially, driven by argument from the scriptures, were distinguished by their appeals to patristical tradition. Irenaeus says, "When they are reprov'd by the scriptures they immediately begin to accuse the scriptures themselves, as if they were not correct, nor of authority, and that they are not consistent; and that the truth cannot be found out from them by those who are ignorant of tradition." The same complaint is made by other fathers.

The thing to be proved is, that certain doctrines are derived from the oral teaching of the apostles. The proof is that the fathers say so. We answer, their saying so is no sufficient proof. They are too few, too far removed from the apostles; their testimony is hard to get at, since so many writings are attributed to them which they never wrote, and since their genuine writings are so much corrupted; besides, their testimony when obtained is not decisive, because they

testify to what cannot be true. They say they received doctrines from the apostles, which every body must admit to be false; and they make the claim for conflicting statements. No court, civil or ecclesiastical, would decide any cause involving the value of a straw on such testimony.

To all this it may be said, that admitting all that has been urged, still where the fathers do all concur, there we have ground to believe they are right, often as they are individually wrong. To this we answer, that the consent of the few writers of the first three centuries is as nothing compared with the whole church which they are assumed to represent. But further, their consent can be fairly pleaded for nothing which is now a matter of dispute. They agree in nothing but the plainest and simplest biblical facts and doctrines. Hear what even Bishop Taylor, one of the witnesses quoted by Mr. Keble in his *Catena Patrum* in favour of tradition, says on this subject. "Catholic consent," he says, "cannot be proved in any thing but in the canon of scripture itself; and, as it is now received, even in that, there is some variety." Again. "There is no question this day in contestation in the explication of which all the old writers did consent. In the assignation of the canon of scripture, they never did consent for six hundred years together; and when by that time the bishops had agreed indifferently, and but indifferently, upon that, they fell out in twenty more; and except it be the apostles' creed and articles of that nature, there is nothing which may, with any colour, be called a consent, much less tradition universal."* This want of consent of the fathers of the first three centuries; their silence or their conflicting statements on all questions having any bearing on present controversies, is so obvious and notorious, that it is virtually conceded even by traditionists themselves. The author of tract 85, says, in reference both to the canon of scripture and to "Catholic doctrines," "We believe mainly because the church of the fourth and fifth unanimously believed." "We depend for the canon and creed upon the fourth and fifth centuries. . . . Viewing the matter as one of moral evidence, we seem to see in the testimony of the fifth, the very testimony which every preceding century gave, ACCIDENTS EXCEPTED, such as the present loss of documents once extant, or the then existing misconceptions which the want of intercourse

* See his *Liberty of Prophecyng*, Sec. v. viii.

among the churches occasioned. The fifth century acts as a comment on the obscure text of the centuries before it, and brings out a meaning which with the help of the comment any candid person sees to belong to them. And in the same way as regards the Catholic creed, though there is not so much to account for. Not so much, for no one, I suppose, will deny that in the fathers of the fourth century, it is as fully developed and as unanimously adopted as it can be in the fifth." This is the precise doctrine of the Romanists. The obscurities and deficiencies of scripture are to be explained or supplied by the writings of the first three centuries; the obscurities and deficiencies of those centuries are to be made good by the writings of the fourth and fifth; those of the fourth and fifth, by the tenth and twelfth, those of the tenth and twelfth by the fifteenth and sixteenth. Thus we have the whole accumulated mass of superstition and error sanctioned by apostolic authority and imposed upon the church. It is as plain as it can be that we have here the concession of the failure of the whole theory. The theory is that the oral teachings of the apostles are a part of our present rule of faith; that catholic consent is our warrant for believing certain doctrines to be part of that oral teaching; catholic consent is the consent and testimony of the whole church at all times. But it is admitted that the first three centuries do not testify to what are called Catholic doctrines. This fact is accounted for by loss of documents and misconceptions of the churches. To account for a fact is to admit it. It is admitted, therefore, that the first three centuries do not consent to or testify Catholic doctrines. To say that the first three do, because the fourth and fifth do, is so unreasonable as to give the whole matter the air of insincerity and imposture. Is the rationalism of the present German churches an exponent of the faith of those churches during the preceding century? Is the Socinianism of the modern clergy of Geneva a proof that Calvin and Beza were Socinians? Or are the Pelagianism and infidelity of the English church during a large part of the 18th century, when, according to Bishop Butler, Christianity itself seemed to be regarded as a fable "among all persons of discernment," to be considered as proving the faith of that church in the preceding centuries? Here is a church, a true church, an episcopal church, an apostolic church, to which all the promises ever made to an external church belong in all their plenitude, sunk so low as scarcely to

retain the semblance of belief; and even now, according to Mr. Newman, you cannot find any ten or twenty of its neighboring clergy who agree even in the elementary and necessary doctrines of the gospel. With what colour, then, of reason, or even honesty, can it be maintained that all the superstitions and false doctrines of the fifth century are to be taken as part of the faith of the first three centuries, and of the apostles themselves? Of all rules by which to determine what men must believe in order to be saved, this would seem to be the most absurd. We believe, say the Tractarians, not because the apostles believed, not even because the early church believed, but because the fifth century believed.

This, however, is not the only way in which traditionists abandon their own theory. They believe many doctrines for which catholic consent cannot be pleaded, and they reject many in which the early church were to a very great degree unanimous. With regard to the first class, we of course do not believe that the consent of the three centuries can be fairly claimed, for prelatical episcopacy. We might, without undue confidence, say we know that it cannot be so claimed; not only because such consent, according to Bishop Taylor, can be claimed for nothing except such principles of the faith as are contained in the apostles' creed, but because it is notorious that the identity of the office of bishop and presbyter was maintained by many in the early church, and that presbyters had the right of ordaining bishops even after the introduction of prelacy. Mr. Goode himself, while he holds episcopacy to be of apostolical origin, admits that its necessity cannot be proved. "If," he says, "in any church, a presbyter be appointed by his co-presbyters to be bishop, or superintendent or president of that church, and perform the usual duties of the episcopal function, we cannot prove either by scripture, or by the consent of the apostolically-primitive church, that his acts are by apostolic ordinance invalid." Again: "Supposing the apostles to have appointed the first bishops in twelve churches, I want to know where we are informed that when the bishop of one of them died, the church of the deceased bishop depended upon the will and pleasure of the remaining eleven bishops for a president, and could not appoint and create, to all intents and purposes, its own president, out of its own body of presbyters."* As for the popish

* Vol. ii. pp. 58, 59.

doctrine of orders, episcopal grace, the sacrificial character of the eucharist, &c., it is, as we have already seen, virtually admitted, that they cannot be sustained by the consent of the first centuries. They rest upon the fifth, even in the creed of their advocates.

But besides these false doctrines which are not only not in the scriptures, but anti-scriptural, there are important and even fundamental scriptural doctrines for which not even the general consent of fathers can be produced. The early fathers were accustomed to use the language of the Bible in their religious discourses, and unless driven to explanations by the errors of opposers, they seldom so defined as to render their testimony available against the subtle heretics of later time. They spoke of Christ as God, they prayed to him, they worshipped him; but the Arians were willing to do all this. And if the doctrine of the essential equality of the Father and Son in the adorable Trinity is to depend upon tradition, it cannot be proved at all. It is also a notorious fact that the divinity of the Holy Spirit, plainly as it is taught in scripture, is not a doctrine for which catholic consent can be claimed. Jerome says, "Many, through ignorance of the scriptures, assert that the Father and Son are often called Holy Spirit. And while we ought clearly to believe in a Trinity, they, taking away the third person, imagine it not to be a hypostasis of the Trinity, but a name." Basil says, the question concerning the Holy Spirit was "passed over in silence by the ancients, and owing to its not being opposed, was left unexplained." And he therefore proceeded to discuss it "according to the mind of scripture." A doctrine which the ancients passed over in silence, they cannot be cited to prove. If, therefore, tradition is our rule of faith; if we are to believe nothing for which catholic consent cannot be produced, we shall have to give up even the essential doctrines of the gospel.

The traditionists moreover depart from their own theory, or rather, show that they proceed in a perfectly arbitrary manner, by rejecting many doctrines for which a much greater degree of unanimity among the fathers can be produced than for those which they adopt. Mr. Keble says, We know with certainty that "Melchizedek's feast was a type of the blessed Eucharist," "from the constant agreement of the early church." In proof, he refers to Cyprian, Augustine, Jerome, and the Roman liturgy, as "representing the sense of the western church," and to Chrysostom

for the Greek. This is proof of the constant agreement of the early church! One man in the first three hundred years of the church, and one for the whole Greek church, and this is taken as fulfilling the condition, quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus! Why, twice the amount of evidence of antiquity and catholicity may be produced for the grossest heresies or the greatest absurdities. This is only an illustration of the coolness with which catholicity is claimed for any doctrine which suits the feelings of the writer. It cannot be denied that three times as much evidence can be produced of a general belief in the early church of the unlawfulness of oaths, of the necessity of infant communion, of the establishment of a glorious visible kingdom at Jerusalem, of the re-appearance of Enoch and Elias to wage war with antichrist, and for other doctrines and usages which modern traditionists unhesitatingly reject. It is true, therefore, what Bishop Taylor says, that "it is not *honest*" to press the authority of the fathers, unless we "are willing to submit in all things to the testimony of an equal number of them, which I am certain neither side will do." It is a sheer impossibility to prove any thing by the rule of the traditionalists as they state it, because catholic consent is absolutely unattainable. The rule is worthless as it stands; and if they choose to assume catholic consent in one instance on a certain amount of testimony, let them assume it in others, on the same degree of evidence, before they attempt to urge it upon others as "the unwritten word of God."

The advocates of tradition as a part of the rule of faith are therefore chargeable with great fallacy and unfairness. They lay down a rule which, according to its obvious meaning, commands the assent of all men. They say what all true Christians, in all ages and every where have believed, must, as far the essential doctrines of the gospel are concerned, be regarded as part of the faith once delivered to the saints. This is undoubtedly true; but they immediately and artfully substitute for true Christians, the external visible church, with regard to which it is not true that it cannot err even in fundamental doctrines. And further, though the consent of all visible churches, at all times and places, would not be conclusive proof of the truth of any doctrine, it would be a very strong proof, they assume such consent on the most insufficient evidence; evidence which they themselves reject in its application to the church at the

present time, and, in many cases in its application to the ancient church. If an ancient church had a creed, that creed expressed the faith of all its members. The church or England has a creed which is no index, according to these same writers, to the faith of its clergy. If a delegate attended an ancient council from Africa or Gaul, he fairly represented his province and committed his brethren to the decisions of the council. The delegate of the church of England sanctions Calvinism at the Synod of Dort, and he is a mere individual, misrepresenting and dishonoring the church to which he belonged. Some half dozen fathers in the course of as many centuries testify to one doctrine, and it is "catholic consent;" twenty or thirty testify to another doctrine, and it is set down to the "misconceptions of the churches." Antiquity is said to be necessary to prove a tradition apostolical, but if the first of these three centuries are silent on the subject or opposed to the tradition, we may suppose loss of documents or misinformation. We must believe what the fifth century believed, and take for granted that the preceding centuries agreed with it. This boasted rule therefore turns out to be no rule at all. It cannot from its nature be applied, and therefore we must take the opinion of one age, as evidence of antiquity, universality and catholicity.

One of the most natural and uniform effects of making tradition a part of the rule of faith, is to destroy the authority of the Bible. Our Saviour charged the Pharisees with making the word of God of none-effect by their traditions. The Talmud has superseded the Law of Moses among the modern Jews; and the whole system of Popery is sustained on the authority of the church teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. Chillingworth well says, "He that would usurp an absolute lordship and tyranny over any people, need not put himself to the trouble and difficulty of abrogating and disannulling the laws, made to maintain the common liberty; for he may frustrate their intent and gain his own design as well, if he can get the power and authority to interpret them as he pleases, and add to them what he pleases, and to have his interpretations and additions stand for laws; if he can rule his people by his laws, and his law by his lawyers."* This is the avowed office of tradition, as the interpretation and supplement of scripture. It

* Chillingworth's works, American edition, p. 105.

undertakes to explain the sense and to supply the defects of the word of God; and in doing this it effectually supersedes its authority. "When the sense of scripture as interpreted by reason," says Mr. Newman, "is contrary to that given it by catholic antiquity, we ought to side with the latter." This is practically saying, that when scripture and tradition clash, we must side with tradition. This must in practice be its meaning. For to say when scripture interpreted by reason gives a certain sense, can mean only, when we believe it to convey that sense. That is, we must give up what we believe to be the meaning of the word of God, to the authority of tradition, which is but another name for the authority of man. If the Bible says, we are justified by faith in Jesus Christ; and tradition says, we are justified by baptism; then the Bible is made to mean not the faith of the individual, but of the church. If the Bible says, Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God; and tradition says, Whosoever is baptized is born again; then the Bible is made to mean, that baptism conveys the Holy Spirit in every case, where there is not the special impediment of mortal sin. If the Saviour says, Come unto me all ye who are heavy laden and I will give you rest; and tradition says, there is no remission of sin, without priestly absolution; then our Lord is made to mean, we must come unto him through the priest. If the Bible requires repentance, and tradition penance; then repentance means penance. The Bible addresses its instructions, its promises, its threatenings to every reader, according to his character. It speaks to him that reads it, promising to the penitent believer pardon of sin, the aid of the Holy Spirit, and the light of God's countenance; tradition says there are no promises but to the church, and there is no church where there is not a certain form of government. Thus through the whole system of divine truth, the Bible yields to tradition; the voice of God is drowned in that of men; the merits of Christ is abstracted by the priest, who for bread gives us a stone, and for an egg, scorpions.

The writings of the traditionists are consequently filled with irreverent depreciation of the scriptures. They are said to contain even essential truths only by a sort of accident; it is a wonder that they are all there, and though there, they are latent, hid under the surface, intimated by mere hints and notices. "The Bible," it is said, "does not carry its own interpretation." The texts of scripture "may im-

ply the catholic doctrine, but they need not; they are consistent with any of several theories, or at any rate other persons think so." The answers which Unitarians make to Trinitarians in defence of their claim to be considered orthodox, are said to be resistless, if we grant that the Bible is "the sole authoritative judge in controversies of faith." Certain individuals, says Mr. Newman, may not be injured by this principle, but "the body of men who profess it are, and ever must be injured. For the mass of men, having no moral convictions, are led by reasoning, and by mere consistency of argument, and legitimately evolve heresy from principles which, to the better sort of men may be harmless." In the same tone Dr. Hook says, "I believe it to be only on account of their being bad logicians, that they are not Socinians. I believe that they ought to be, if consistent, both Dissenters and Socinians. If they accuse church principles of tending to popery, we think that their opinions must lead logical and unprejudiced minds to Socinianism."* According to the traditionists, therefore, men may, and the mass of them must, legitimately evolve heresy from the Bible, which, if taken by itself, "must lead logical and unprejudiced minds to Socinianism." It is thus that men allow themselves to speak of the word of God, in order to exalt tradition. Nay, worse than this, they seem willing to destroy all faith, that they may introduce their system of priestly and ecclesiastical domination. For, unable to meet the obvious objection, that if the Bible is obscure, so are the fathers; if the latent doctrines of the scriptures are hard to find, so is catholic consent; they say that doubt is essential to faith;† that we have, at most, only probability to show for revelation at all, or even for the existence of an intelligent Creator.‡ They assert that there is but "a bal-

* This is quoted by Mr. Goode, vol. i. p. 487, as said of those who hold that "the Bible is the sole, infallible rule of faith."

† "Evidence complete in all its parts," says Mr. Keble, "leaves no room for faith." Sermon on Tradition, p. 82. Newman says, "Doubt may even be said to be implied in a Christian's faith." Lectures, p. 104.

‡ Speaking of the appeal to antiquity, Mr. Newman says, "Where men are indisposed to such an appeal, where they are determined to be captious and to take exceptions, and act the disputant and sophist instead of the earnest enquirer, it admits of easy evasion, and may be made to conclude any thing or nothing. The rule of Vincent is not of a mathematical or demonstrative character, but moral, and requires practical judgment and good sense to apply it. For instance, what is meant by being 'taught *always*?' Does it mean in every century, or every year, or every month? Does 'every where' mean in every

ance on the side of revelation ;” “ there are, so to say, three chances for revelation, and only two against it.” The whole ground of faith is swept away, and mere feeling put in its place. “ Why,” asks the author of Tract 85, “ why should not the church be divine ? The burden of proof is surely on the other side. I will accept her doctrines, and her rites, and her Bible—not one, and not the other, but all—till I have a clear proof that she is mistaken. It is, *I feel*, God’s will that I should do so ; and besides I love these, her possessions—I love her Bible(?) her doctrines, and her rites, and therefore I believe.” This is the same gentleman who says, “ We believe mainly because the church of the fourth and fifth centuries unanimously believed.” That is, he likes the doctrines of those centuries, and therefore he believes. Here is the whole logic of tradition. This same writer says, our Saviour required the Pharisees to believe “ on weak arguments and fanciful deductions ;” and hence we have no right to complain if we are required to believe on the slight and fanciful evidence which traditionists can produce. He seems to have no conception of the infinite difference between the cases, which is no less than the difference between the authority of God and that of man. The Pharisees were required to believe on the authority of Christ : “ If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not ; but if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works ; that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me and I in him.” To call the reasons proposed by such a teacher weak and fanciful, is in the highest degree irreverent. And to represent the Saviour as resting the whole authority of his doctrines on the exposition of certain passages of the Old Testament, is to misstate the fact. Christ showed the Jews that his doctrines were confirmed by their own scriptures ; and his expositions of those scriptures were to be received, not only because they were in accordance with the principles of his opponents, but because of his authority

country, or in every diocese. And does the ‘*consent of fathers*’ require us to produce the direct testimony of every one of them ? How many fathers, how many instances, constitute a fulfilment of the test proposed ? It is, then, from the nature of the case, a condition which never can be satisfied as fully as it might have been ; it admits of various and unequal application in various instances ; and what degree of application is enough must be decided by the same principles which guide us in the conduct of life, which determine us in politics, or trade, or war, which lead us to accept revelation at all, for which we have but probability to show at most, nay, to believe in the existence of an intelligent Creator.” Lectures, p. 69.

as a teacher whose divine mission was fully established. The declaration of Christ is the strongest of all possible reasons as a ground of faith; and his testimony to the sense of scripture is the strongest of all possible grounds of assurance that such is its true sense. It is not, however, to the irreverence of the language referred to that we would call attention; it is to the implied admission that tradition can offer us nothing but weak reasons and fanciful deductions as a ground of belief, which the passage quoted contains. The uncertain teaching of tradition is admitted. It may, as Mr. Newman says, be made to conclude any thing or nothing. But then, say the traditionists, we have no better ground of faith in any thing. Our Saviour required his hearers to believe on weak reasons; we have only a probability to offer even for a divine revelation; three chances, so to say, for it, while there are two against it. The stream, says Mr. Keble, can never rise higher than the fountain, we have but historical tradition for the scriptures themselves, and of course nothing more for any of the doctrines which they contain; and we have the same historical tradition for catholic doctrines, i. e. for the oral teaching of the apostles. Every step of this argument is unsound. It is not true that we have nothing but historical tradition for the authority of scripture and of the doctrines they contain. Mr. Goode, in accordance, we had almost said, with all Christians, says, "It will not I hope be denied, that a saving belief in scripture being the work of God, must be the work of the Spirit of God upon the heart; and that such a faith might be produced under that influence, even though the *external* evidence should be in itself weak and insufficient; and that such a faith is of the highest and most perfect kind, including all and more than all, which can be produced by a faith wrought by the force of evidence alone; and that any other faith, as long as it stands alone, is, in fact, useless."* No true Christian's faith rests exclusively or mainly upon historical tradition, but upon the testimony of the Spirit, by and with the truth upon the heart. And in the second place, it is not true that we have the same historical tradition for the oral teaching of the apostles, that we have for the authenticity of the scriptures. The historical tradition in the church of England in favour of the derivation of the Thirty Nine Articles from the Reformers, is

* Vol. i. D. 59.

perfect and conclusive. No man ever has doubted the fact, or ever can doubt it. Though the evidence is of a different kind, no mathematical demonstration is more convincing. But the tradition of that church for any oral teaching of the Reformers, is absolutely null, it is nothing. In like manner the testimony of the church to the authenticity of the New Testament is as strong as historical testimony can be, while its testimony to the oral teaching of the apostles may be made "to conclude any thing or nothing."

It is very clear that the men who remove our faith from the sure and stable foundation, and place it on one which is false and feeble, are in fact taking the best course to destroy faith altogether. The testimony of the scripture is true and trustworthy; the testimony of tradition, taken as a whole, is in the highest degree uncertain, unsatisfactory and erroneous. This is so, and men cannot but find it out, and when required to believe on grounds which they see to be so unstable, they will either not believe at all, or they will commit themselves blindfold to the guidance of their priests. Infidelity, therefore, or blind, superstitious faith, is invariably attendant on tradition. Speaking in general terms, such is and ever has been its effects in the Romish church. Those who think are infidels; those who do not, are blind and superstitious.

As it is the tendency and actual working of tradition to supersede the word of God, and to destroy the very foundation of faith, so it has never failed to introduce a system of false doctrines and of priestly tyranny. If you take men from the infallible teaching of God, and make them depend on the foolish teaching of men, the result cannot fail to be the adoption of error and heresy. This is a conclusion which all experience verifies. And as to ghostly domination, the result is no less natural and certain. The inalienable and inestimable right of private judgment, which is nothing else than the right to listen to the voice of God speaking in his word, is denied to us. We are told that we must not trust that voice; it is too indistinct; it says too little; and is too liable to lead us into error. We must hearken to tradition. When we ask, where is this tradition? we are told in the church. When we ask further, which church? we are told the Catholic church. When we ask which church is Catholic? we are told, that one whose teachings and institutions can stand the test of antiquity, universality and catholicity. When we say that this is a

test exceedingly difficult to apply, requiring immense labour and research, and that it is exceedingly precarious, concluding "any thing or nothing;" we receive two answers, one on rare occasions, which is absurdly inconsistent with the whole theory, and that is, that we must judge for ourselves; we must use our "common sense," and act as we do in "trade, politics or war;" take that for the true church, and that for the teaching of tradition, which we on the whole think most likely to be so. That is, although we are forbid to judge for ourselves what our blessed Lord means, when he says, Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that believeth on me hath everlasting life; and him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out; yet we are told to judge for ourselves, what all the Greek and Latin fathers mean; in what points they all agree; which of the conflicting councils were truly general, whether that in which three hundred bishops decided right, or that in which six hundred decided wrong. When we have done all this, then we may judge for ourselves, which is that true Catholic church which is authorized to tell us what those things mean which are revealed even unto babes. As this is such a many-sided absurdity, we rarely hear this answer given. It is only when an unwonted sprightliness or levity leads the traditionist, as in the case of Mr. Newman, to strip the mask from the whole system of fraud and imposture.

It is so manifest an impossibility for the mass of ordinary Christians to apply the test of antiquity, universality and catholicity, in order to decide which is the true church, and what tradition really teaches, that the enquirer is commonly simply told to "hear the church;" and as he cannot tell which church he ought to hear, he must hear the one that speaks to him, be it the Romish, the Greek, or the English. If the church within whose pale he happens to live, teaches him error, even fundamental error, he has no relief. He must submit his soul to his church; he must subject his heart, his conscience, and his life, to her guidance, and wait until he enters eternity to find out whither she has led him. Still further, as every church speaks to its members, mainly through the parish priest; as he is her organ of communication, the parish priest is to the great majority of Christians the ultimate arbiter of life and death. They must take his word for what is the true church, and for what that church teaches. Thus what in sounding phrase is called the

church catholic and apostolic, turns out in practice to be one poor priest. The Bible, Christ and God are all put aside to make the soul depend on the fidelity and competency of one sinful, feeble man. Where tradition has its perfect work, there, in point of fact, the souls of the people are in the power of the priest, their faith and practice are subject to his control.

This same result is reached in another way. We have seen that it is virtually admitted by traditionists that their system cannot be found in the scripture, nor in the first three centuries. We believe, say they, what the fifth century believed and because the church of that age believed. The reason of this obvious. Priestly power was not fully established before the fifth century. To find a system suited to their taste, they must come away from the Bible and from the early church, and turn to an age in which salvation was doled out for pence; when priestly excommunication was a sentence of death; when pardon, grace, and eternal life were granted or withheld at the option of the clergy; when the doctrines of episcopal grace, and sacramental religion, had subjected all classes of men and all departments of life to ghostly domination. We do not say that the modern traditionists love this system, merely or mainly because of the power it gives the clergy, but we say that the system which they love, has ever had, and from its nature must have the effect of exalting the priesthood and of degrading the people.

Where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty. The men who read the Bible and hear there the voice of God, cannot but be free. It commands their assent and secures their homage. They cannot be subject to men in things whereof God has spoken. All the traditionists in the world cannot persuade them that the Bible is not the intelligible voice of God, or that there is either duty or safety in closing their ears to that voice, in order to listen to the mutterings of tradition. Our blessedness is to be free from men, that we may be subject to God; and we cannot be thus subject, without being thus free.

We have reason then still to assert and defend the position that the Bible, the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants; we want no other and we want no more. It is the rule of our faith. It is infallible, perspicuous, complete and accessible. It is able to make us wise unto salvation; being inspired of God, it is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for

correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto every good work. A better, surer rule than inspired scripture we cannot have; and it must stand alone, or fall. If men bring their torches around the pillar of fire, the sacred light goes out, and they are left to their own guidance; and then the blind lead the blind.

SHORT NOTICES.

THE Ambassador of God: or the True Spirit of the Christian Ministry as represented in the mind of Jesus Christ. A Sermon Preached in the German Reformed Church, Chambersburg, Pa., July 10, 1842, at the ordination and installation of the Rev. W. Wilson Bonnell, as Pastor of said Congregation. By Rev. John W. Nevin, D. D. Published by request of the Congregation. Chambersburg, 8 vo. pp. 21.

A pious, sensible discourse on John vi: 38, in which the preacher shows that the faithful minister must have the work of God for the business of his life; that he must attend upon this work as the work of God, referring it all to him as its author and its end; not working merely to provide a support for himself and family or to make himself rich, nor merely or chiefly to advance a party interest; not pursuing it merely as an intellectual or scientific work; but working in the light and with the Spirit of God's holy and infinitely perfect mind; in which case, and no other, the office, though responsible, is full of honour and surrounded by encouragements.

Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy. By M. Stuart, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Andover: 1842. pp. 146.

This volume will, no doubt, be read with interest by the many who are naturally curious to know the views of so eminent a biblical writer upon some of the most difficult and delicate points in hermeneutics. We can merely say at present that the topics treated are the double sense of prophecy, the question whether it is intelligible before fulfilment, and the designations of time in prophecy.

Philosophy and Faith. A Sermon, preached to the Graduating Class in Dartmouth College, on the Sabbath before Commencement, 1842. By Nathan Lord, D. D., President. Published at the request of the class. Hanover: 1842.

It is perhaps owing to our own negligence, that we here for the first time become acquainted with President Lord, as an author; we shall take up with avidity any future production of his pen. The sermon contains passages, it is true, which might demand explanation, before they could carry our full concurrence; but as a whole, it is sound, original, bold, and seasonable, and contains some bursts of distinguished eloquence. It has been too uncommon,

to find the mock-transcendentalists treated in their own style, as is here done with just indignation. The 'hostility of the human mind to divine truth, as evinced by philosophy,' is the great theme; the discussion of which commands our respect. That Dr. Lord seems to admit no true philosophy, is, after all, a matter of definition. The justness of his definition may be very reasonably questioned.

Critical Essays, on a few subjects connected with the History and Present Condition of Speculative Philosophy. By Francis Bowen, A. M. Boston: H. B. Williams, 1842. pp. 352.

These Essays were originally published as contributions to the *North American Review* and the *Christian Examiner*, and have, by the author, been issued in a separate volume. This is a distinction which they fully merit. The topics discussed are not only of permanent importance, but of great interest at the present time. Of this the reader will be persuaded by the following list of the subjects discussed: Locke and the Transcendentalists. Kant and his Philosophy. Fichte's Exposition of Kant: Philosophy applied to Theology. The Philosophy of Cousin. Paley: the argument for the Being of a God. Subject continued: the Union of Theology and Metaphysics. Berkeley and his Philosophy. Elements of Moral Science. Political Ethics. The most of these topics are examined with great ability, and presented in a clear and instructive light. The doctrine of a personal God, the creator and governor of the world, and the arguments by which this great fundamental truth is established, are nobly vindicated against the sophistry of skeptics, and the presumptuous dogmatism of the modern transcendentalists. We say nobly vindicated, because an elevation of feeling, a consciousness of the value of the doctrine defended, and a proper indignation at the arrogance and folly of those who oppose or obscure this great truth, pervade the Essays bearing on this subject, and secure for the writer the sympathy and respect of every reader who reverences his Maker.

In the Essay on the Elements of Moral Science, Mr. Bowen has allowed his opinion and feelings as an opponent of what he calls Calvinism, to appear much more distinctly than in either of the other Essays, which we have had the opportunity of examining. There is so much in this volume, which we think of great value, and in which we fully concur, that we greatly regret that it should contain any thing which must make the great body of Christian readers painfully sensible of the distance which separates them from its accomplished author.

The Crisis, and its claims upon the church of God. A sermon preached in the Franklin street church, New York, at the opening of the General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church, June 1, 1842. By James Romeyn, late Pastor of the Church of Catskill, and President of the Synod. Published by request. New-York: pp. 59.

In this discourse the author passes under review the dangers to which the church is exposed from the prevalent distress throughout the nation, the appalling laxity of moral sentiment, the superficial and defective views of religious

character which prevail, the disturbing and destructive character of the transcendental philosophy, the increase of Popery, and the spread of the doctrines and principles of Popery under the form of Puseyism. These several topics are handled briefly, but with great directness and force. In his exposition and enforcement of the corresponding duties of the church, the author has presented the results of much patient and careful thinking, with that earnestness of manner which shows the sincerity and strength of his own conviction. There are several passages marked by so much justness of thought and eloquence of statement, that we should be glad to quote them if we had space. We commend the whole discourse to our readers, as uncommonly rich in thought, and sound and forcible in its practical conclusions.

Lecture on the history of Mathematics, by Francis H. Smith, A. M., Superintendent and Professor of Mathematics of the Virginia Military Institute. Published at the request of the Cadets. Lexington, pp. 35.

Elimination between two equations with two unknown quantities, by means of the greatest common Divisor. Also, Analysis of Curves, with an application to an Equation of the fourth Degree. By Francis H. Smith, A. M. New-York: pp. 59.

We have in these two pamphlets a further contribution to mathematical science from the pen of Professor Smith, whose translation of Biot's Analytical Geometry we had occasion to notice in a former number. The Lecture upon the history of Mathematics aims at nothing more than condensing as much information upon the subject, as could be comprised within its allotted limits. It must, of course, labour under the disadvantage of being confined, for the most part, to a mere sketch or outline. The author has succeeded, we think, in imparting to it as much interest as such a sketch can be made to possess. We are willing to charge to the haste of preparation, "amid the press of unusual engagements," some omissions and inaccuracies in the latter part of the lecture. In a catalogue of French contributors to mathematical analysis, so full as to include the names of Bezout, and Boucharlat, we surely might expect to find Laplace, Legendre and Cauchy, to say nothing of some others. And the brief notice of American science should have been still briefer, or more extended. It includes too many names or too few. We were not a little surprised too, to find it stated by the author, that Col. Claude Crozet, "while Professor of Mathematics at West Point, introduced the use of the Black Board, now become so common and necessary an instrument of imparting instruction." We should not have deemed the use of the Black Board at recitation, a circumstance worthy of mention in the history of mathematical science; but whatever influence it may have had on the progress of education, be it much or little, is certainly not due to the efforts of Col. Crozet. The Black Board has been in use at the ordinary mathematical recitations and the public examinations in the College of New-Jersey, time out of mind. The memory of man runneth not to the contrary. There is still in use, in this institution, a time-honored slate, five or six feet square, upon

which many a student had chalked himself into the high honours of his class, long before Col. Crozet had left his native country. The chief defect of the last two pages of the otherwise accurate sketch contained in Professor Smith's lecture, arises from his having looked at American science too exclusively from a West Point view. We would not disparage the claims or services of that noble institution. It has done much for the country, and long may it live and prosper. But its claims to honour, though indisputable and high, are not so exclusive as might be inferred from the solitary conspicuity given to them by Professor Smith.

The other pamphlet discusses two subjects which are not in general fully treated in Elementary Text Books. They are here treated with perspicuity and completeness.

A Brief Exposition and Vindication of the Doctrine of the Divine Decrees, as taught in the Assembly's Larger Catechism. By Rev. G. W. Musgrave, Bishop of the Third Presbyterian Church of Baltimore; being the substance of two Lectures recently delivered in said Church, and published at the request of the congregation. Baltimore. pp. 40.

This is an able vindication of the doctrine of Divine Decrees from the misrepresentations and objections with which it is so frequently assailed. The congregation to whom these lectures were delivered requested their publication, "for the further instruction of themselves and families on the highly interesting and important subjects of which they treat, and to disabuse the public of the prejudices which have been produced by the gross misrepresentations and shameful caricatures of our doctrinal system by Arminians;" and we mark sufficiently our high sense of their merit, when we say that they appear to us admirably suited to produce these results. The author shows throughout the discussion the power that belongs to a mind, that has been trained to habits of logical precision.

An Examination of No. 90 of the Tracts for the Times. By the Rev. Frederick Beasley, D. D., formerly Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, author of the *Search of Truth in the Human Mind*, &c., and a Presbyter of the Episcopal Church. New York: 1842. 8vo. pp. 58.

Our present number has already devoted as much space as is proper, to controversies allied to the subject of this treatise. Our respect, however, for its author, now a veteran in theological disquisition, and our cordial interest in the cause which he espouses, forbid us to let his work pass without a word of commendation. Dr. Beasley has violated one of the fundamental canons of Puseyism; he has laughed at it. The offence is as grievous, as that offered by Remus to the walls of Rome; but the provocation was irresistible. The ridicule which gives a pleasing acidity to this pamphlet is of that sort which mingles easily with argument, being indeed the vehicle of the latter. We commend the treatise to our readers, as in a high degree instructive and scholarlike.